

An Apologie for the Oath
OF ALLEGIANCE.

FIRST SET
FOORTH WITHOVT

a name: And now acknowledged by the
Authour, the Right High and Mightie Prince,
JAMES, by the Grace of GOD, King of
Great Britaine, France and Ireland;
Defender of the Faith, &c.

Together with a PREMONITION
of his Maiesties, to all most Mightie
Monarches, Kings, free Princes
and States of Christendome.

PSAL. 2. Vers. 10.

Es nunc Reges intelligite: Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.

ROM. 14. Vers. 13.

*Non ergo amplius inuicem iudicemus. Sed hoc iudicate magis,
ne penat offendiculum fratri, vel scandalum.*

Imprinted at London by *Robert*
Barker, Printer to the Kings most
Excellent Maiestie.

April. 8. ANNO 1609.

Cum privilegio Regali.





TO THE MOST
SACRED AND

Inuincible Prince, RODOLPH
the II. by GODS Clemencie

Elect EMPEROVR of the
ROMANES;

KING OF GERMA-
NIE, HUNGARIE,
BOHEME, DALMATIE, CRO-
ATIE, SCLAVONIE, &c.

ARCH-DUKE OF
AVSTRIA, DVKE OF
BURGVNDIE, STIRIA,
CARINTHIA, CARNIOLA,
and WIRTEMBERG, &c.
Earle of Tyrol, &c.

AND

AND TO ALL
OTHER RIGHT
HIGH AND MIGHTY
KINGS;

AND RIGHT EXCELLENT
Free PRINCES and STATES
of Christendome:

Our louing BRETHREN, COVSINS,
ALLIES, CONFEDERATES
and FRIENDS:

JAMES, by the grace of God,
King of GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE and IRELAND;
Professor, Maintainer and DEFENDER
OF THE True, Christian, Catholique,
and Apostolique FAITH, Professed by the
auncient and Primitiue Church, and sealed
with the blood of so many holy Bishops and
other faithfull crowned with the glory of
Martyrdome;

WISHETH euertasting felicitie in
CHRIST our Sauiour.

TO



TO YOU,
MOST SACRED
AND INVINCIBLE EMPE-
ROVR; RIGHT
HIGH AND MIGHTIE
KINGS; RIGHT EXCEL-
LENT FREE PRINCES
AND STATES, MY LO-
VING BRETHREN AND
COVSINS.

*To you, I say, as of right belon-
geth, doe I consecrate and direct this Warning of
mine, or rather Preamble to my reprinted Apo-
logie for the Oath of Allegiance. For the
cause is generall, and concerneth the Authoritie
and Priviledge of Kings in generall, and all su-
pereminent Temporall powers. And if in
whatsoever Societie, or Corporation of men,
either in Corporations of Cities, or in the Corpo-
(a 3) ration*

To all Christian Monarches,

ration of any mechanike craft or handie-worke, euery man is carefull to maintain the priuiledges of that Societie whereunto hee is sworne; nay, they will rather cluster all in one, making it a common cause, exposing themselves to all sorts of perill, then suffer the least breach in their Liberties; If those of the baser sort of people, I say, be so curious and zealous for the preservation of their common priuiledges and liberties, as if the meanest amongst them bee touched in any such poynt, they thinke it concerneth them all: Then what should we doe in such a case; whom GOD hath placed in the highest thrones vpon earth, made his Lieutenants & Vice-gerents, and euen seated vs vpon his owne throne to execute his Iudgements? The consideration heereof hath now moued me to expone a Case vnto you, which doeth not so neerely touch mee in my particular, as it doeth open a breach against our authoritie, (I speake in the plurall of all Kings) and priuiledge in generall. And since not onely all rankes and sorts of people in all Nations doe inuolably obserue this Maxime; but euen the Ciuill Law, by which the greatest part of Christendome is gouerned, doeth giue them an interest,

quisouent confimilem causam; *How much more then haue ye interest in this cause, not being similis or par causa to yours, but eadem with yours? and indeed yee all touetis, or at least fouere debetis eandem causam mecum. And since this cause is common to vs all; both the ciuill Lawes and the municipall Lawes of all Nations, permits and warne them, that haue a common interest, to concurre iu one for the defence of their common cause; yea, common sense teacheth vs with the Poet, Ecquid*

*Ad te post paulò ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tuares agitur, paries cùm proximus ardet.*

Awake then while it is time, and suffer not, by your longer sleepe, the strings of your Authoritie to be cut in singulis, and one and one to your generall ruine, which by your vnitied forces, would rather make a strong rope for the enemie to hang himselfe in, with Achitophel, then that hee should euer be able to breake it. As for this Apologie of mine, it is true, that I thought good to set it first out without putting my name vnto it; but neuer so, as I thought to deny it; remember well mine owne words, but taken out of the Scripture, in the beginning of the Preface to the Reader,

To all Christian Monarches,

Reader, in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΡΟΝ, that nothing is so hid, which shall not bee opened, &c: promising there, which with G O D his grace I shall euer performe, neuer to doe that in secret, whic^h I shall need to be ashamed of, when it shall come to be proclaimed in publique.

In deed I thought it fit, for two respects, that this my Apologie should first visite the world without hauing my name written in the forehead thereof. First because of the matter, and next of the persons that I meddled with. The matter, it being a Treatise, which I was to write, containing reasons & discourses in Diuinity for the defence of the Oath of Allegiance, and refutation of the condemners thereof; I thought it not comely for one of my place, to put my name to books concerning scholastick Disputations; whose calling is to set forth Decrees in the Imperatiue moode: for I thinke my selfe as good a man as the Pope, by his reuerence, for whom these my Answerers make the like excuse; for that his Breues are so summary without yeelding any reason vnto them. My next reason was the respect of the persons whom with I meddled: Wherein, although I shortly answered the Popes Breues, yet the point
I most

I most laboured, being the refutation of Bellarmines Letter, I was neuer the man, I confesse, that could thinke a Cardinall a meet match for a King: especially, hauing many hundreth thousands of my subiects of as good birth as he. As for his Church dignitie, his Cardinalship I meane, I know not how to ranke or value it, either by the warrant of God his word, or by the ordinance of Emperours or Kings; it being indeed onely a new Papall erection, tolerated by the sleeping conuience of our Predecessors (I meane still by the plurall of Kings.) But notwithstanding of this my forbearing to put my name vnto it, some Embassadours of some of you (my louing Brethren and Cosins) whome this cause did nzereliest concerne, can witnesse, that I made Presents of some of those bookes, at their first printing, vnto them, and that auowedly in my owne name. As also the English Paragraphist, or rather peruerse Pamphleter Parsons, since all his description must runne vpon a P. hath truly obserued, that my Armes are affixed in the frontispice thereof, which vseth not to bee in bookes of other mens doing; whereby his malice in pretending his ignorance, that he might pay me the

(b)

sound-

soundlier, is the more inexcusable. But now that I find my sparing to put my name vnto it hath not procured my sparing by these answerers, who haue neither spared my Person directly in naming me, nor indirectly by railing vpon the Author of the Booke: it is now high time for me no longer to conceale nor disauow my selfe, as if I were ashamed of my owne deed. And therefore that yee may the better vnderstand the nature of the cause, I will begin at the first ground thereof.

The neuer ynough wondered at and abhorred P O V V D E R-TREASON (though the repetition thereof griueth, I know, the gentle hearted lesuite Parsons) this Treason, I say, being not onely intended against me and my Posteritie, but euen against the whole house of Parliament, plotted only by Papists, and they onely led thereto by a preposterous zeal for the aduancement of their Religion; some of them continuing so obstinate, that euen at their death they would not acknowledge their fault; but in their last words, immediately before the expiring of their breath, refused to condemne themselves & craue pardon for their deed, except the Romish Church should
first

first condemne it ; And soone after, it being discovered, that a great number of my Popish Subjects of all rankes and sexes, both men and women, as well within as without the Countrey ; had a confused notion and an obscure knowledge, that some great thing was to be done in that Parliament for the weale of the Church ; although, for secrecies cause, they were not acquainted with the particulars ; certaine formes of prayer hauing likewise bin set down and used for the good successe of that great errand ; adding hereunto, that diuerstimes, and from diuers Priests, the Arch-traitors themselues receiued the Sacrament for confirmation of their heart, and obseruation of secrecie ; Some of the principall Iesuits likewise being found guiltie of the foreknowledge of the Treason it selfe ; of which number some fled from their triall, others were apprehended (as holy Garnet himselfe and Ouldcorne were) and iustly executed vpon their owne plaine confession of their guilt: If this Treason now, clad with these circumstances, did not minister a iust occasion to that Parliament-house, whom they thought to haue destroyed, couragiously and zealously at their next
(b 2) sitting

sitting downe, to use all meanes of trial, whether any more of that mind were yet left in the Countrey; I leaue it to you to iudge, whom God hath appoynted his highest Depute-Iudges vpon earth: And amongst other things for this purpose, This Oath of Allegiance, so vniustly impugned, was then deuised and enacted. And in case any sharper Lawes were then made against the Papists that were not obedient to the former Lawes of the Countrey; if ye will consider the time, place, and persons, it will bee thought no wonder, seeing that occasion did so iustly exasperate them to make seuerer Lawes then otherwise they would haue done. The time, I say, being the very next sitting downe of the Parliament, after the discouerie of that abominable Treason: the place beeing the same, where they should all haue bene blowen vp, and so bringing it freshly to their memorie againe: the persons being those very Parliament men whom they thought to haue destroyed. And yet so far hath both my heart and gouernment beene from any bitterness, as almost neuer one of those sharpe additions to the former Lawes haue euer yet beene put in execution.

And

And that ye may yet know further for the more convincing these Libellers of wilfull malice, who impudently affirme, That this Oath of Allegiance was deuised for deceiuing and intrapping of Papists in points of conscience; The truth is, that the Lower house of Parliament at the first framing of this Oath, made it to containe, That the Pope had no power to excommunicate me; which I caused them to reforme; onely making it to conclude, That no excommunication of the Popes can warrant my Subiects to practise against my Person or State; denying the deposition of Kings to be in the Popes lawfull power, as indeed I take any such temporall violence to bee farre without the limits of such a Spirituall censure as excommunication is. So carefull was I that nothing shouldbe contained in this Oath, except the profession of natural Allegiance, & ciuill and temporall obedience, with a promise to resist to all contrary & vnciuill violence.

This Oath now grounded vpon so great and iust an occasion. set forth in so reasonable termes, and ordeined onely for making of a true distinction betweene Papists of quiet disposition, and in all other things good Subiects, and such other

To all Christian Monarches,

Papists as in their hearts maintained the like violent bloody Maximes, that the Powder-traitors did: This Oath, I say, being published and put in practise, bred such euill blood in the Popes head and his Cleargie, as Breue after Breue commeth forth, vt vndam vnda sequitur; prohibiting all Catholiques from taking the same, as a thing cleane contrary to the Catholicke faith; and that the taking thereof cannot stand with the saluation of their soules.

There commeth likewise a letter of Cardinall Bellarmine to Blackwell to the same purpose; but discoursing more at length vpon the sayd Oath. Whereupon, after I had entred in consideration of their vniust impugning that so iust and lawfull an Oath; and fearing that by their vntreue calumnies and Sophistrie the hearts of a number of the most simple and ignorant of my people should be mis-led, vnder that faire and deceitfull cloake of conscience; I thought good to set forth an Apologie for the said Oath: wherein I proued, that as this Oath contained nothing but matter of ciuill and temporall Obedience, due by Subiects to their Soueraigne Prince: so this quarrelling therewith was nothing but a late

late vsurpation of Popes (against the warrant of all Scriptures, ancient Counsels and Fathers) upon the temporall power of Kings, where with only my Apologie doth meddle. But the publishing of this Booke of mine hath brought such two Answerers, or rather Raylers upon me, as all the world may wonder at. For my Booke beeing first written in English, an English Oath beeing the subiect thereof, and the vse of it properly belonging to my subiects of England; and immediatly thereafter being translated into Latine, upon a desire that some had of further publishing it abroad: it cometh home unto me now answered in both the Languages. And, I thinke, if it had beene set forth in all the tongues that were at the confusion of Babel, it would haue beene returned answered in them all againe. Thus may a man see how busie a Bishop the Deuill is, and how he omitteth no diligence for venting of his poisoned wares. But herein their malice doth cleerely appeare, that they pay me so quickly with a double answer; and yet haue neuer answered their owne Arch-priest, who hath written a booke for the maintenāce of the same Oath, and of the temporall authoritie of Kings,

To all Christian Monarches,

Kings, alledging a cloud of their owne Scholemen against them.

As for the English Answerer, my vnnaturall and fugitiue Subiect; I will neither defile my pen, nor your sacred eies or eares with the describing of him, who asbames, nay, abhorres not to rayle, nay, to rage and speewe forth blasphemies against the late Queene of famous memorie. A Subiect to raile against his naturall Soueraigne by birth; A man to rayle against a Lady by sexe; A holy man (in outward profession) to insult vpon the dead; nay, to take Radamanthus office ouer his head, and to sit downe and play the Iudge in hell; And all his quarrell is, that either her Successour, or any of her Seruants should speake honourably of her. Cursed be he that curseth the Anointed of God: and destroyed mought he be with the destruction of Korah, that hath sinned in the contradiction of Korah. Without mought such dogs and swine be, cast forth, I say, out of the spirituall Ierusalem.

As for my Latine Answerer, I haue nothing to say to his person; he is not my Subiect; he standeth or falleth vnto his owne Lord: But sure I am, they two haue casten lots vpon my Booke, since

since they could not diuide it: the one of them, my fugitiue, to rayle vpon my late Predecessor, (but a rope is the fitteſt anſwere for ſuch an Hiſtorian;) the other, a ſtranger, thinketh he may be boldeſt both to pay my perſon and my booke, as indeed hee doth; which how iuſtly either in matter or maner, we are now to examine.

But firſt, who ſhould be the true Authour of this booke, I can but gueſſe. He calleth himſelfe Matthæus Tortus, Cardinal Bellarmins Chaplain. ^a A throwen Euangelist indeed, full of throward Diuinitie; an obſcure Authour, utterly unknown to me, being yet little known to the world for any other of his works: and therefore muſt be a very deſperate fellow in beginning his apprentiſage, not only to refute, but to rayle vpon a King. But who will conſider the cariage of the whole booke, ſhall find that hee writeth with ſuch authoritie, or at the leaſt tam elato ſtylo, ſo little ſparing either Kings in generall, or my perſon in particular; and with ſuch a greatneſſe, ^b Habemus enim exemplaria Breuium illorum in manibus, and ^c Decernimus: as it ſhall appeare, or at leaſt be very probable, that it is the Maſters, and not the mans
(c) labour;

a Being a proper word to expreſſe the true meaning of Tortus.

b P. 46.

c P. 63.

Pag. 69.

labour; especially in one place, where he quarrelleth mee for casting up his *moralis certitudo* and *piè credi* unto him; hee there grossely forgetting himselfe, saith, *malâ fide nobiscum agit*, thereby making this Authour to be one person with Bellarmine. But let it bee the worke of a Tortus indeed, and not of a personated Cardinall; yet must it be the Cardinals deede, since Master Tortus is the Cardinals man, and doeth it in his masters defence. The errand then being the Cardinals, and done by his owne man, it cannot but be accounted as his owne deed; especially since the English Answerer doeth foure times promise, that Bellarmine, or one by his appointment, shall sufficiently answer it.

And now to come to his matter and manner of Answer: Surely if there were no more but his unmannerly manner, it is enough to disgrace the whole matter thereof. For first, to shew his pride, in his Printers preface of the Poitan edition of this elegans libellus, he must equall the Cardinals greatnesse with mine in every thing. For though he confesseth this Master Tortus to bee an obscure man; yet being the Cardinals Chaplaine, he is sufficient enough forsooth to answer

(were an English booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour: as if a personated obscure name for Aubour of a Cardinals booke, were a meet match for answering a Kings booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour; and a Cardinals Chap-laine to meete with the Deane of the Kings Chappell, whome Parsons with the Cardinall haue (as it seemeth) agreed vpon to intitle to bee the Authour of my Apologie. And not onely in the Preface, but also through the whole Booke doeth he keepe this comparatiue greatnesse. He must bee as short in his answer, as I am in my booke, he must refute all that I haue said against the Popes second Breue, with equall breuity, and vpon one page almost, as I haue done mine: and because I haue set downe the substance of the Oath in 14. Articles, in iust as many Articles must he set downe that Acte of Parliament of mine, wherein the Oath is contained: And yet, had hee contented himselfe with his owne pride, by the demonstration of his owne greatnesse, without further wronging of me, it had bene the more to- lerable. But what cause gaue I him to surce his whole booke with iniuries, both against my per- son and booke? For whereas in all my Apologie
(c 2) I haue

I haue neuer giuen him a foule word, and especially neuer gaue him the Lye: he by the contrary giueth me nine times the Lye in expresse termes, and seuen times chargeth mee with a falshood, which pbrase is equiualent with a Lye. And as for all other words of reproch; as nugæ, conuitia, temeritas, vanitas, impudentia, blasphemix, sermonis barbaries, cum eadem fecilitate scribendi, cauillationes, applicatio inepta, fingere historias, audacia quæ in hominem sanæ mentis cadere non potest, vel sensu cõmuni caret, imperitia & leuitas, omnem omnino pudorem & conscientiam exuisse, malâ fide nobiscum agit vt lectoribus per fas & nefas imponat: of such like reproches, I say, I doubt if there be a page in all his booke free, except where he idly sets down the Popes Breues and his owne Letter. And in case this might onely seeme to touch the vnknownen Authour of the booke, whom notwithstanding he knew well enough, as I shew before; he spareth not my Person with my owne name: sometimes saying, that Pope Clement thought me to be inclined to their Religion: sometimes, that I was a Puritane in Scotland, and a persecutor of Protestants.

P. 47.

P. 98.

testants. *In one place he concludeth*, Quia Iacobus non est Catholicus, hoc ipso Hæreticus est. *In another place*, Ex Christiano Calvinistam fecerunt. *In another place hee saith*, Neq; omnino verum est, Iacobum nunquam deseruisse Religionem quam primò suscepit. *And in another place, after that hee hath compared and ranked me with Iulian the Apostle, he concludeth*, Cum Catholicus non sit, neq; Christianus est. *If this now be mannerly dealing with a King, I leaue it to you to iudge, who cannot but resent such indignities done to one of your quality.*

And as for the matter of his booke, it well fits indeed the manner thereof: for he neuer answereth directly to the maine question in my booke. For whereas my Apologic handleth onely two points, as I told you before; One, to proue that the Oath of Allegiance doeth onely meddle with the ciuill and temporal obedience, due by Subiects to their naturall Soueraignes; The other, that this late usurpation of Popes ouer the temporall power of Princes, is against the rule of all Scriptures, ancient Councels and Fathers: hee neuer improoues the first, but by a false inference; that

P. 87.

P. 98.

Ibid.

P. 97.

the Oath denieth the Popes power of excommunication directly, since it denyeth his authoritie in deposing of Kings. And for the second point, he bringeth no prooffe to the contrary, but, *Pasce oues meas: and, Tibi dabo claues regni coelorum: and, That no Catholike euer doubted of it. So as I may truely say of him, that he either vnderstandeth not, or at least will not seeme to vnderstand my Booke, in neuer directly answering the maine question, as I haue already sayd; and so may I iustly turne ouer vpon him, selfe that doome of ignorance, which in the beginning of his Booke he rashly pronounceth vpon me, saying that I neither vnderstand the Popes Breues, his Letter, nor the Oath it selfe; And as hee delighteth to repeat ouer and ouer, I know not how oft, and triumpheth in this wrong inference of his; That to deny the Popes power to depose Kings, is to deny the Popes Primacie, and his spirituall power of Excommunication: So doeth he, vpon that ground of Pasce oues meas, giue the Pope so ample a power ouer Kings, to throne or de-throne them at his pleasure (and yet onely subiecting Christian Kings to that slauerie) as I doubt not but in your owne Honours yee will re-sen-*

sent you of such indignities ; the rather since it concernes so many of you as professe the Romish religion, farre more then me. For since hee accounteth me an heretike, & like Iulian the Apostle; I am consequently extra caulam, and none of the Popes flocke, and so am in the case of Ethnick Princes, ouer whom he confesseth the Pope hath no power. But yce are in the Popes folde; and you, that great Pastour may leade as sheepe to the slaughter, when it shall please him. And as the asses eares must be hornes, if the Lion list so to interpret it; so must ye be remoued as scabbed sheepe from the flocke, if so be the Pope thinke you to be, though your skinne be indeed neuer so sound.

Thus hath hee set such a new goodly interpretation vpon the words of CHRIST, Pasce oues meas, as if it were as much to say, as depose Christian Kings; and that Quodcunq; solueris gaue the Pope power to dispense with all sorts of Othes, Voives, Penalties, Censurers & Lawes, euen with the naturall obedience of Subiects to their Soueraigne Lords; much like to that new coined glosse that his brother^a Baronius made vpon the words in S. Peters vision, Surge Petre,

^a Senten. Card.
Baron. super ex-
com : Vener.

tre, occide & manduca; That is, (said hee to the Pope) Goe kill and confound the Venetians.

And because I haue in my Booke (by citing a place in his controuersies) discovered him to be a small friend to Kings, hee is much commoued. For whereas in his said Controuersies, speaking de Clericis, hee is so bold as to affirme, that Church-men are exempted from the power of earthly Kings; and that they ought them no subiection euen in temporall matters, but onely uirationis and in their owne discretion, for the preservation of peace and good order; because, I say, citing this place of his in my Booke, I tell with admiration, that he freeth all Church-men from any subiection to Kings, euen those that are their borne-Subiects: hee is angry with this phrase; and sayth it is an addition for breeding enuie vnto him, and raising of hatred against him. For saith hee, although Bellarmine affirmed generally, that Church-men were not subiect to earthly Kings; yet did he not insert that particular clause [though they were borne and dwelling in their dominions] as if the words of Church-men and earthly Kings in generall imported not as much: for Layicks as well as Church

Lib. de Cler.
cap. 28.

Church-men are subiect to none but to their naturall Soueraigne. And yet doeth he not sticke to confesse that he meant it; though it was not fit (he saith) to be expressed.

And thus quarrels hee me for reuealing his Printed secret. But whose hatred did he feare in this? was it not yours? Who haue interest, but KINGS, in the withdrawing of true Subiection from Kings? And when the greatest Monarchs amongst you will remember, that almost the third part of your Subiects and of your Territories, is Church-men and Church-liuings; I hope, yee will then consider and weigh, what a feather hee puls out of your wings, when he denu-deth you of so many Subiects and their possessions, in the Popes fauour: nay, what bryers and thornes are left within the heart of your Dominions, when so populous and potent a partie shall haue their birth, education and liuelyhood in your Countries, and yet owe you no Subiection, nor acknowledge you for their SOVERAIGNES? So as where the Church-men of old were content with their tythe of euery mans goods; the Pope now will haue little lesse then the third part of euery Kings Subiects and Domi-

(d)

nions.

To all Christian Monarches,

nions. And as in this place so throughout all the rest of his booke, hee doeth nothing but amplifie the Popes power ouer Kings, and exaggerate my vnreasonable rigour for pressing this Oath; which he will needes haue to bee nothing but a renewed Oath of Supremacie in more subtill and craftie termes onely to robbe the Pope of his Primacie and spirituall power: making his temporall power and authoritie ouer Princes, to bee one of the chiefe ARTICLES of the Catholike faith.

But that it may the better appeare vnto you, that all my labour and intention in this errand, was onely to meddle with that due temporall Obedience which my Subiects owe vnto mee; and not to entrap nor inthrall their Consciencs, as he most falsly affirmes: Ye shall first see how farre other Godly and Christian Emperours and Kings were from acknowledging the Popes temporall Supremacie ouer them; nay, haue created, controlled and deposed Popes: and next, what a number of my Predecessors in this Kingdome haue at a occasions, euent in the times of the greatest Greatnesse of Popes, resisted and plainly withstood them in this part.

And

And first, all Christian Emperours were for a long time so farre from acknowledging the Popes Superioritie ouer them, as by the contrary the Popes acknowledged themselves for their Vassals, reuerencing and obeying the Emperours as their Lords; for prooffe whereof, I remit you to my Apologie.

And for the creating of Popes; the Emperours were in so long and continuall possession thereof, as I will use for my first witnesse a Pope himselfe; who (in a Synod of an hundredth fifty and three Bishops and Abbots) did ordaine, That the Emperour CHARLES the Great should haue the Right of choosing the Pope, and ordaining the Apostolicall Seate, and the dignitie of the Romane Principalitie: nay, farther hee ordained; That all Archbishops and Bishops should receiue their Inuestiture from the Emperour, or els be of no auaile; And, that a Bishop wanting it should not bee consecrate; pronouncing an Anathema against all that should disobey this Sentence.

And that the Emperours assent to the Popes Election was a thing ordinary for a long time,

(d 2)

^b Platina,

a Sigbert. ad
ann. 773.
Waltham.
Naumburg. lib.
de Episc. inue-
stitura. Mart.
Polin. ad ann.
780. Theod. a
Niem. de pri-
uileg. & Iurib.
Imper. &
dist. 30. C. Ha-
drian. 2.

^b See *Platin.*
in *vit. Pelag.* 2.
Gregor. 1. &
Seuerini.
^c *Lib. de Cle-*
ricis.

^d In *Chron. ad*
ann. 680.
^e in *vit. Aga-*
thon & Anast.
in *vi. z. i. i. d. A.*
gath. & Herm.
Contract ad
ann. 678. edit.
poster. & Diff.
63. c. Agatho.
^f *Luitpr. Hist.*
lib. 6 c. 10, 11.
Rhegino ad an.
963. & Platin.
in *vit. Ioan. 13*
^g *Marianus*
Scot. Sigeb. Ab-
bas. V. r. p. ad
ann. 1046. &
Platin in vit.
Greg. 6.

^h *Waltham.*
Naumburg. in
lib.

^b *Platina, and a number of the Popes owne writers beare witnesse : And* ^c *Bellarmino himselfe, in his booke of Controuersies, cannot get it handsomely denied. Nay, the Popes were euen forced then to pay a certaine summe of money to the Emperours for their Confirmation : And this lasted almost seuen hundredth yeeres after CHRIST ; witnesse* ^d *Sigebert and* ^e *Luitprandus, with other Popish Histo-*
rians.

And for Emperours deposing of Popes, there are likewise diuers examples. The Emperour ^f *Otho deposed Pope Iohn the twelfth of that name, for diuers crimes and vices ; especially of lecherie. The Emperour* ^g *Henry the third in a short time deposed three Popes ; Benedict the ninth, Siluester the third, and Gregory the sixth, as well for the sinne of Auarice, as for abusing their extraordinarie authoritie against Kings and Princes.*

And as for Kings that haue denied this temporall Superioritie of Popes ; First, we haue the Unanime testimonie of diuers famous Historiographers for the generall of many Christian Kingdomes. As, ^h *Waltham testifieth That*
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the Bishops of Spaine, Scotland, England, Hungary, from ancient institution till this moderne noueltie, had their Inuestiture by Kings, with peaceable inioying of their temporalities wholly and entirely; and who-
foeuer (*saith hee*) is peaceably solicitous, let him peruse the liues of the Ancients, and read the Histories, and hee shall vnderstand thus much. And for verification of this generall assertion; we will first begin at the practise of the Kings of France, though not named by Waltham in this his enumeration of Kingdomes: amongst whom my first witnessse shall be that vulgarly knownen Letter of Philip le Bel King of France to Pope Boniface the viij. the beginning whereof, after a scornefull salutation; is *Sciat tua maxima fatuitas, nos in temporalibus nemini subesse.*

And likewise after that^k Lewes the ninth, surnamed Sanctus, had by a publike instrument (called Pragmatica Sanctio) forbidden all the exactions of the Popes Court within his Realme: Pope Pius^l the ij. in the beginning of Lewes the eleuenth his time, greatly misliking this Decree so long before made, sent his Legate

(d3)

to

*lib. le inuest.
Episc.
Vixit circa
ann. 1110.*

*i See Annales
Francie Nico-
lai. Gillij in
Philip. Pukthro.*

*h Anno 1268
ex arrestu Se-
natus Pari-
sienf.*

*i Ioan. Maie-
rius, lib. de
Scismat. &
Concil.*

to the said King Lewes with Letters patents, Urging his promise which he had made when he was Dolphin of France, to repeale that Sanction if ever hee came to bee King. The King referreth the Legate ouer with his Letters-patents to the Councel of Paris: Where the matter being propounded, was impugned by Ioan. Romanus, the Kings Atturney; with whose opinion the Vniuersitie of Paris concurring, an Appeale was made from the attempts of the Pope to the next generall Councell; the Cardinall departing with indignation.

But that the Kings of France and Church therof haue euer stoken to their Gallican immunitie, in denying the Pope any temporall power ouer them, and in resisting the Popes as oft as euer they prest to meddle with their temporall power, euen in the donation of Benefices; the Histories are so full of them, as the onely examples thereof would make up a bigge Volume by it selfe. And so farre were the Sorbonists for the Kings and French Churches priuiledge in this point, as they were wont to maintain, That if the Pope fell a quarrelling the King for that cause, the Gallican Church might elect a Pa-

triarch

triarch of their owne, renouncing any obedience to the Pope. And Gerson was so farre from giuing the Pope that temporall authoritie ouer Kings (who otherwise was a deuoute Roman Catholike) as hee wrote a Booke de Aufferibilitate Papæ; not onely from the power ouer Kings, but euen ouer the Church.

And now permitting all further examples of forraigne Kings actions, I will onely content mee at this time with some of my owne. Predecessors examples of this Kingdom of England, that it may thereby the more clearely appeare, that euen in those times, when the worlde was fullest of darkened blindnesse and ignorance, the Kings of England haue oftentimes, not onely repined, but euen strongly resisted and withstoode this temporall usurpation and encroachment of ambitious Popes.

And I will first begin at o King Henry the first of that name, after the Conquest; who after he was crowned gaue the Bishopricke of Winchester to William Gifford, and forthwith inuested him into all the possessions belonging to the Bishopricke, contrarie to the Canons of the new Synod, P King Hen-
rie

o Mast. Paris.
in Henr. I. anno
1100.

p [idem ibid.
ann. 1113.

rie also gaue the Archbishopricke of *Canterburie* to *Radulph* Bishop of *London*; and gaue him inueltiture by a Ring and a Crofiers staffe.

¶ *Idem. ibid.*
anno. 119.

Also Pope *Calixtus* held a Councell at *Rhemes*, whither King *Henry* had appointed certaine Bishops of *England* and *Normandie* to goe; *Thurstan*, also, elected Archbishop of *York*, got leaue of the King to goe thither, giuing his faith that hee would not receiue Consecration of the Pope; And comming to the Synode, by his liberal gifts (as the fashion is.) wanne the *Romanes* fauour, and by their meanes obtained to bee Consecrate at the Popes hand. Which as soone as the King of *England* knewe, hee forbad him to come within his Dominions.

¶ *Ex Archiepi.*
Regni.

Moreover King *Edward the first*, prohibited the Abbt of *Waltham* and Dean of *Pauls*, to collect a tenth of euery mans goods for a supply to the holy Land, which the Pope by three Bulles had committed to their charge; and the said Deane of *Pauls* compering before the King and his Councell, promised for the reu-
rence

rence he did beare vnto the King, not to meddle any more in that matter, without the Kings good leaue and permission. Here (I hope) a Church-man disobeyed the Pope from obedience to his Prince euen in Church matters: but this new Iesuited Diuinitie was not then known in the world.

The same Edward I. impleaded the Deane of the Chappell of Vuluerhampton, because the said Deane had, against the priuiledges of the Kingdome, giuen a Prebend of the same Chappell to one, at the Popes command: whereupon the said Deane compeered, and put himselfe in the Kings will for his offence.

The said Edward I. deprived also the Bishop of Durham of all his liberties, for disobeying a prohibition of the Kings. So as it appeareth, the Kings in those dayes thought the Church men their SUBIECTS, though now wee be taught other Seraphicall doctrine.

For further prooffe whereof Iohn of Ibstocke was committed to the goale by the saide King, for hauing a suite in the Court of Rome seauen yeares for the Rectorie of Newchurch.

And Edward II. following the footsteps of
(e) his

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his Father; after giuing out a Summons against the Abbot of Walden, for citing the Abbot of S. Albons and others in the Court of Rome, gaue out letters for his apprehension.

And likewise, because a certaine Prebend of Banbury had drawen one Beuercoat by a Plea to Rome without the Kings Dominions, therefore were Letters of Caption sent foorth against the said Prebend.

And Edward III. following likewise the example of his Predecessors; Because a Parson of Liche had summoned the Prior of S. Oswalds before the Pope at Auinion; for hauing before the Iudges in England recovered the arrearage of a pension; directed a Precept, for seasing vpon all the goods both spirituall and Temporall of the said Parson, because hee had done this in preiudice of the King and Crowne. The saide King also made one Harwoden to bee declared culpable and worthy to bee punished, for procuring the Popes Bulles against a Iudgement that was giuen by the Kings Iudges.

And likewise; Because one entred vpon the Priory of Barnewell by the Popes Bull, the said
Intrant

Intrant was committed to the Tower of London, there to remaine during the Kings pleasure.

So as my Predecessours (ye see) of this Kingdome, euen when the Popes triumphed in their greatnes, spared not to punish any of their Subiects, that would preferre the Popes obedience to theirs euen in Church matters: So farre were they then from either acknowledging the Pope for their temporal Superior, or yet from doubting that their owne Church-men were not their Subiects. And now I will close up all these examples with an Act of Parliament in King Richard 2. his time; whereby it was prohibited, That none should procure a Benefice from Rome, vnder paine to be put out of the Kings protection. And thus may yee see, that what those Kings successively one to another by foure generations haue acted in priuate, the same was also maintained by a publike Law.

By these few examples now (I hope) I haue sufficiently cleared my selfe from the imputation, that any ambition or desire of Noueltie in mee should haue stirred me, either to robbe the Pope of any thing due vnto him, or to assume vnto

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my selfe any further authoritie, then that which other Christian Emperours and Kings through the world, and my owne Predecessours of England in especiall; haue long agone maintained. Neither is it enough to say (as Parsons doeth in his answer to the Lord Cooke) That farre more Kings of this Countrey haue giuen many more examples of acknowledging, or not resisting the Popes vsurped Authoritie; some perchance lacking the occasion, and some the abilitie of resisting them: for euen by the ciuill Law, in the case of violent intrusion and long and wrongful possession against mee, it is enough if I proue that I haue made lawfull interruption vpon conuenient occasions.

But the Cardinall thinks the Oath, not onely vnlawfull for the substance thereof, but also in regard of the Person whom vnto it is to bee sworne: For (saith he) The King is not a Catholike; And in two or three other places of his booke, he sticketh not to call me by my name very broadly, an Heretike, as I haue already tolde. But yet before I be publicly declared an Heretike; by the Popes owne Law my people ought not to refuse their Obedience vnto me. And

(I trust) if I were but a Subiect, and accused by the Pope in his Conclauē before his Cardinalls, he would haue hard prouing me an Heretike, if he iudged mee by their owne ancient Orders.

For first, I am no Apostate, as the Cardinall would make mee; not onely hauing euer been brought up in that Religion which I presently professe, but euen my Father and Grandfather on that side professing the same: and so cannot be properly an Heretike by their owne doctrine, since I neuer was of their Church. And as for the Queene my Mother of worthie memorie, although she continued in that Religion wherein she was nourished, yet was shee so farre from being superstitious or Iesuited therein, that at my Baptisme (although I was baptized by a Popish Archbishop) shee sent him word to forbear to use the spetle in my Baptisme; which was obeyed, being indeed a filthy and an apish trick, rather in scorne then imitation of CHRIST. And her owne very words were, That shee would not haue a pockie Priest to spet in her child's mouth. As also the Font wherein I was Christened, was sent from the late Queene beere of fa-

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mous memorie, who was my Godmother; and what her Religion was, Pius V. was not ignorant. And for further prooffe, that that renowned Queene my Mother was not superstitious, as in all her Letters (whereof I received many) she neuer made mention of Religion, nor laboured to perswade me in it; so at her last words, she cōmanded her Master-houſhold, a Scottiſh Gentleman my ſeruant, and yet aliue, ſhee commanded him (I ſay) to tell me; That although ſhe was of another Religion then that wherein I was brought up; yet ſhe woud not preſſe me to change, except my owne conſcience forced mee to it. For ſo that I led a good life, and were careful to doe iuſtice and gouerne well, ſhe doubted not but I would be in a good caſe with the profeſſion of my owne Religion. Thus am I no Apoſtate, nor yet a deborder from that Religion which one part of my Parents profeſſed, and another part gaue me good allowance of. Neither can my Baptiſme in the rites of their Religion make me an Apoſtate, or Heretike in reſpect of my preſent profeſſion, ſince wee all agree in the ſubſtance thereof, being all baptized In the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the
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holy Ghost : upon which head there is no variance amongst vs.

And now for the point of Heretike, I will neuer bee ashamed to render an account of my profession, and of that hope that is in me, as the Apostle prescribeth. I am such a CATHOLIKE CHRISTIAN, as beleue the three Creeds; That of the Apostles, that of the Councell of Nice, and that of Athanasius; the two latter being Paraphrases to the former: And I beleue them in that sense, as the ancient Fathers and Councils that made them did understand them. To which three Creedes all the Ministers of England doe subscribe at their Ordination. And I also acknowledge for Orthodoxe all those other formes of Creeds, that either were deuised by Councils or particular Fathers, against such particular Heresies, as most reigned in their times.

I reuerence and admit the foure first generall Councils as Catholike and Orthodoxe. And the said foure generall Councils are acknowledged by our Acts of Parliament, and receiued for Orthodoxe by our Church.

As for the Fathers, I reuerence them as much
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and more then the Iesuites doe, and as much as themselves euer craued. For what euer the Fathers for the first five hundred yeeres did with an Unanime consent agree upon, to be beleued as a necessary point of saluation, I either will beleue it also, or at least will be humbly silent; not taking upon me to condemne the same: But for euery priuate Fathers opinion, it bindes not my conscience more then Bellarmines; euery one of the Fathers usually contradicting others. I wil therefore in that case follow S.^a Augustines rule in iudging of their opinions, as I finde them agree with the Scriptures: what I find agreeable thereunto I will gladly imbrace; what is otherwise I will (with their reuerence) reiect.

As for the Scriptures, no man doubteth I will beleue them. But euen for the Apocrypha; I hold them in the same account that the Ancients did. They are still printed and bound with our Bibles, and publikely read in our Churches. I reuerence them as the writings of holy and good men: but since they are not found in the Canon, we account them to be secundæ lectionis, or ^b ordinis (which is Bellarmines owne distinction) and therefore not sufficient whereupon alone

a Lib. 2. con.
Cresconium.
cap. 32.

b Lib. 1. de
verb. Dei. c. 4.

alone to ground any article of Faith, except it be confirmed by some other place of Canonickall Scripture; Concluding this point with Rulfinus (who is no Nouelist, I hope) That the Apocryphall Bookes were by the Fathers permitted to be read; not for Confirmation of Doctrine, but onely for instruction of the people.

As for the Saints departed; I honour their memory, and in the honour of them doe we in our Church obserue the dayes of so many of them, as the Scripture doth canonize for Saints; but I am loath to beleue all the tales of the Legended Saints.

And first for the blessed Virgin MARIE, I yeeld her that which the Angel Gabriel pronounced of her, and which in her Cantic shee prophecied of her selfe: that is, That ^a she is blessed amongst women, and ^b That all generations shall call her blessed. I reuerence her as the Mother of CHRIST, whom of our Sauieur tooke his flesh, and so the Mother of GOD, since the Diuinitie and Humanitie of CHRIST are inseparable. And I freely confesse, that shee is in glory both aboue Angels and men, her owne Sonne (that is both GOD and man) only excep-

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^a Luc. i. 28.^b Ibid. ver. 48.

ted. But I dare not mocke her and blaspheme against GOD, calling her not onely *Diva* but *Dea*, and praying her to command and controule her Sonne, who is her GOD, and her SAVIOUR. Nor yet can I thinke, that she hath no other thing to doe in heauen, then to heare euery idle mans suite and busie her selfe in their errands; whiles requesting, whiles commanding her sonne, whiles comming downe to kisse and make loue with Priests, and whiles disputing and brawling with Devils. In heauen she is eternall glory and ioy, neuer to bee interrupted with any worldly busines; and there I leaue her with her blessed SONNE our Sauour and hers in eternall felicitie.

Matth 11.28.

Colof. 2.8.23.

As for Prayer to Saints; Christ (I am sure) hath commanded vs to Come all to him that are loaden with sinne, and hee will relieue vs: and S. Paul hath forbidden vs to worship Angels, or to vse any such voluntary worship, that hath a shew of humilitie in that it spareth not the flesh. But what warrant wee haue to haue recourse vnto these *Dij Penates* or *Tutelares*, these Courtiers of God, I know not; I remit that to these philosophicall neoterike Diuines. It satisfieth

sieth me to pray to God through Christ as I am commanded, which I am sure must be the safest way; and I am sure the Safest way is the best way in points of saluation. But if the Romish Church hath coined new articles of faith, neuer heard of in the first 500. yeeres after Christ, I hope I shal neuer be condemned for an Heretike, for not being a Nouelist. Such are the priuate Masses, where the Priest playeth the part both of the Priest and of the people; And such are the Amputation of the one halfe of the Sacrament from the people; The Transubstantiation, Eleuation for Adoration, and Circumportation in procession of the Sacrament; the works of Supererogation, rightly named The-saurus Ecclesiæ, the baptizing of Bels, and a thousand other trickes: But aboue all the worshipping of Images. If my faith bee weake in these, I confesse I had rather beleue too little then too much. And yet since I beleue as much as the Scriptures do warrant, the Creeds do perswade, and the ancient Councils decreed, I may well be a Schismaticke from Rome, but I am sure I am no Heretike.

For Reliques of Saints, If I had any such

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that

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that I were assured were members of their bodies I would honorably bury them, and not giue them the reward of condemned mens members, which are onely ordained to be deprived of buriall: But for worshipping either them or Images, I must account it damnable idolatry.

I am no Iconomachus, I quarrell not the making of Images, either for publike decoration, or for mens private uses: But that they should be worshipped, bee prayed to, or any holinesse attributed vnto them, was neuer knowne of the Ancients: and the Scriptures are so directly, vehemently and punctually against it, as I wonder what braine of man, or suggestion of Sathan durst offer it to Christians; and all must be salued with nice Philosophicall distinctions: As, Idolum nihil est: and, They worship (forsooth) the Images of things in being, and the Image of the true GOD. But the Scripture forbiddeth to worship the Image of any thing that GOD created. It was not a nihil then that GOD forbade onely to be worshipped, neither was the brazen Serpent, nor the body of Moses a nihil; and yet the one was destroyed, and the other hidden for eschewing of Idolatrie. Yea, the Image
of

of GOD himselfe is not onely expressely forbidden to be worshipped, but euen to be made. The reason is giuen, That no eye euer saw GOD; and how can wee paint his face, when Moses (the man that euer was most familiar with GOD) neuer saw but his backe parts? Surely, since he cannot bee draawen to the viue, it is a thanklesse labour to marre it with a false representation; which no Prince, nor scarce any other man will be contented with in their owne pictures. Let them therefore that maintaine this Doctrinne, answer it to CHRIST at the latter day, when he shall accuse them of Idolatry; And then I doubt if he will be payed with such nice sophisticall Distinctions.

But Christs Crosse must haue a particular priuiledge (say they) and bee worshipped ratione contactus. But first we must know what kinde of touching of Christs body drew a vertue from it; whether euery touching, or only touching by faith? That euery touching of his body drew not vertue from it, is more then manifest. When ^a the woman in the bloody flux touched him, shee was healed by her faith: But Peter then tolde him that a crowd and throng of many people

(f 3) then

a Luke 8.

Luc. II. 28.

then touched him; and yet none of them receiued any benefit or vertue from him. Iudas touched him many and many a time, besides his last kisse; so did the Villaines that buffeted and crucified him, and yet I may safely pronounce them accursed, that would bestow any worshippe vpon their reliques: yea, wee cannot denie but the land of Canaan it selfe (whereupon our Lord did daily tread) is so visibly accursed, being gouerned by faithlesse Turkes, full of innumerable sects of hereticall Christians, and the very fertilitye thereof so far degenerated into a pishful sterilitie, as he must be accursed that accounteth it blessed. Nay, when a certaine woman blessed the belly that bare Christ, and the breasts that gaue him sucke; Nay rather (saith he) Blessed are those that heare the Word of God and keepe it. Except then they could first proue that Christ had resolved to blesse that tree of the Crosse whereupon he was nailed; they can neuer proue that his touching it could giue it any vertue. And put the case it had a vertue of doing miracles, as Peters sh. d. w. had, yet doth it not follow, that it is lawfull to worship it, which Peter would neuer accept of. Surely the Prophets that

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in so many places curse those that worship Images that haue eyes and see not, that haue eares and heare not, would much more haue cursed them that worship a piece of a sticke, th. & hath not so much as any resemblance or representation of eyes or eares.

As for Purgatorie and all the * trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of, Bellarmine cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me; If that faire Greene Meadow that is in Purgatorie, haue a brooke running thorow it, that in case I come there, I may haue hawking vpon it. But as for me; I am sure there is a Heauen and a Hell, præmium & poena, for the Elect and reprobate: How many other roomes there bee, I am not on God his counsell. Multæ sunt mansiones in domo Patris mei, saith CHRIST who is the true Purgatorie for our sinnes: But how many chambers and anti-chambers the Deuill hath, they can best tell that goe to him: But in case there were more places for soules to goe to then wee know of, yet let vs content vs with that which in his Word hee hath reuealed vnto vs, and not inquire further into his secrets.

Heauen

* Iubilees, Indulgences, satisfactions for the dead, &c.

Lib. 2. de Purgat. cap. 7.

Ioan 14.

Heauen and Hell are there reuealed to be the eternall home of all mankinde: let vs indeauour to winne the one and eschew the other; and there is an end.

Now in all this discourse haue I yet left out the maine Article of the Romish faith; and that is the Head of the Church or Peters Primacie; for who denieth this, denieth fidem Catholicam, saith Bellarmine. That Bishops ought to be in the Church, I euer maintained it, as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God; contrary to the Puritanes, and likewise to Bellarmine; who denies that Bishops haue their Iurisdiction immediatly from God. (But it is no wonder he takes the Puritanes part, since Iesuits are nothing but Puritan-Papists,) And as I euer maintained the state of Bishops and the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie for order sake; so was I euer an enemy to the confused Anarchie or paritie of the Puritanes, as well appeareth in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΕΠΟΝ. *Heauen is gouerned by order, and all the good Angels there; nay, Hell it selfe could not subsist without some order; And the very Devils are diuided into Legions and haue their chieftaines: how can any societie then vpon earth*

*a Bellar lib. 4.
de Rom. Pont.
cap. 25.*

earth subsist without order and degrees? And therefore I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face this Answerer could say, That I was a Puritane in Scotland, and an enemy to Protestants: I that was persecuted by Puritanes there, not from my birth only, but euen since foure moneths before my birth? I that in the yeere of GOD 84. erected Bishops, and depressed all their popular Paritie, I then being not 18. yeeres of age? I that in my said Booke to my Sonne, doe speake tenne times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists; hauing in my second Edition therof affixed a long Apo'logetike Preface, onely in odium Puritanorum? and I that for the space of fixe yeares before my comming into England, laboured nothing so much as to depresse their Paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe? Nay, if the daily Commentaries of my life and actions in Scotland, were written (as Iulius Cæsars were) there would scarcely a moneth passe in all my life, since my entring into the 13. yeare of my age, wherein some accident or other would not conuince the Cardinall of a lye in this point. And surely I giue a faire commendation to the Puraitnes in that place of my booke, where I as-

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firme that I haue found greater honesty with the high-land and border theeuës, then with that sort of people. But leauing him to his own impudence, I returne to my purpose.

Of Bishops and Church Hierarchie I very well allowe (as I saide before) and likewise of Ranks and Degrees amongst Bishops. Patriarches (I know) were in the time of the Primitive Church, and likewise reuerence that institution for order sake: and amongst them was a contention for the first place. And for my selfe (if that were yet the question) I would with all my heart giue my consent that the Bishop of Rome should haue the first Seate: I being a Westerne King would go with the Patriarch of the West. And for his temporall Principalitie ouer the Signory of Rome, I doe not quarrell it neither; let him in God his Name be Primus Episcopus inter omnes Episcopos, and Princeps Episcoporum; so it be no other wise but as Peter was Princeps Apostolorum. But as I well allow of the Hierarchie of the Church for distinction of Orders (for so I vnderstand it) so I utterly denie that there is an earthly Monarch thereof, whose word must be a Law, and who

who cannot erre in his Sentence, by an infallibilitie of Spirit. Because earthly Kingdomes must haue earthly Monarches; it doeth not follow, that the Church must haue a visible Monarch too: for the world hath not ONE earthly temporall Monarch. CHRIST is his Churches Monarch, and the holy Ghost his Deputie: Reges gentium dominantur eorū, vos autem non sic. CHRIST did not promise before his ascension, to leaue Peter with them to direct and instruct them in all things; but hee promised to send the holy Ghost vnto them for that end.

Luk. 22. 25.

Iohn 14. 26.

And as for these two before cited places, whereby Bellarmine maketh the Pope to triumph ouer Kings; I meane Pasce oues, and Tibi dabo claues: the Cardinall knowes well enough, that the same words of Tibi dabo, are in another place spoken by Christ in the plural number. And he likewise knowes what reason the Ancients doe giue, why Christ bade Peter pascere oues: and also what a cloude of witnesse there is, both of Ancients, and euen of late Popish writers, yea diuers Cardinals, that do all agree that both these speeches vsed to Peter, were meant to all the Apostles represented in his person: Otherwise

Matth. 18. 18.

1. Cor. 5. 4.

Act. 15. 22. 23.

1 Cor. 1. 12.

Galat. 2. 3

how could Paul direct the Church of Corinth to excommunicate the incestuous person cum spiritu suo, whereas hee should then haue said, cum spiritu Petri? And how could all the Apostles haue otherwise vsed all their censures, only in Christs Name, and neuer a word of his Vicar? Peter (wee reade) did in all the Apostles meetings sit amongst them as one of their number: And when chosen men were sent to Antiochia from that great Apostolike Councell at Ierusalem (Acts 15.) The text saith, It seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church, to send chosen men, but no mention made of the Head thereof; and so in their Letters no mention is made of Peter, but onely of the Apostles, Elders, and Brethren. And it is a wonder, why Paul rebuketh the Church of Corinth for making exception of Persons, because some followed Paul, some Apolios, some Cephas, if Peter was their visible Head, for then those that followed not Peter or Cephas, renounced the Catholike faith. But it appeareth well that Paul knew little of our new doctrine, since he handleth Peter so rudely, as he not onely compareth but preferreth himself vnto him. But
our

our Cardinall prooves Peters superioritie, by Pauls going to visite him. Indeed Paul saith, hee went to Ierusalem to visite Peter, and conserre with him; but he should haue added, and to kisse his feet.

To conclude then, The truth is that Peter was both in age, and in the time of CHRISTs calling him, one of the first of the Apostles; In order the principall of the first twelue, and one of the three whom CHRIST for order sake preferred to al the rest. And no further did the Bishop of Rome claime for three hundred yeares after CHRIST: Subiect they were to the generall Councils, and euen but of late did the Councell of Constance depose three Popes, and set vp the fourth. And vntil Phocas dayes (that murdered his master) were they subiect to Emperours. But how they are now come to be Christs Vicars, nay Gods on earth, triple-Crowned, Kings of heauen, earth and hell, Iudges of all the world, and none to iudge them, Heads of the fayth, Absolute deciders of all Controuersies by the infallibility of their spirit, hauing all power both Spirituall and Temporall in their hands, the high Bishops, Monarches

of the whole earth, Superiours to all Emperours and Kings; yea, Supreme Vice-gods, who whether they will or not cannot erre: how they are now come (I say) to this toppe of greatnesse, I know not: but sure I am, Wee that are **KINGS** haue greatest neede to looke vnto it. As for mee, Paul and Peter I know, but these men I know not: And yet to doubt of this, is to denie the Catholique faith; Nay, the world it selfe must be turned vpside downe, and the order of Nature inuerted (making the left hand to haue the place before the Right, and the last named to be the first in honour) that this primacie may be maintained.

Thus haue I now made a free Confession of my Faith: And (I hope) I haue fully cleared my selfe from being an Apostate; and as far from being an Heretike, as one may bee that beleeueth the Scriptures, and the three Creedes, and acknowledgeth the foure first generall Councels. If I bee loath to beleue too much, especially of Nouelties, men of greater knowledge may well pitie my weakenesse; but I am sure none will condemne me for an Heretike, saue such as make the Pope their God; and thinke him such a speaking

Bellar. de Rom.
Pons. lib. I.
cap 17.

king Scripture, as they can define Heresie no otherwise, but to bee whatsoever Opinion is maintained against the Popes definition of faith. And I will sincerely promise, that when euer any point of the Religion I professe, shalbe proued to be new, and not Ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike (I meane for matter of Faith) I will as soone renounce it; closing up this head with the Maxime of Vincentius Lirinensis, that I will neuer refuse to imbrace any opinion in Diuinity necessary to saluation, which the whole Catholike Church with an vnanime consent, haue constantly taught and beleeued euen from the Apostles daies, for the space of many ages thereafter without interruption. But in the Cardinals opinion, I haue shewed my selfe an Heretike (I am sure) in playing with the name of Babylon, and the Towne vpon seuen hils; as if I would insinuate Rome at this present to bee spiritually Babylon. And yet that Rome is called Babylon, both in S. Peters Epistle and in the Apocalyps, our Answerer freely confesseth. As for the definition of the Antichrist, I wil not vrge so obscure a point, as a matter of Faith to be necessarily beleued of al Christians; but what I thinke herein,

Libello aduersus hereses.

1. Pet. 5. 13.

herein, I will simply declare.

That there must be an ANTICHRIST, and in his time a generall Defection; we all agree. But the Time, Seat, and Person of this Antichrist, are the chiefe Questions whereupon we differ: and for that, wee must search the Scriptures for our resolution. As for my opinion; I thinke S. Paul in the 2. to the Thessalonians doth utter more clearly that which S. Iohn speaketh more mystically of the Antichrist.

2. Thes. 2.

Verse 3.

Verse 3, 4.

Psal. 82. 6.

First that in that place he meaneth the Antichrist, it is plain, since he saith there must be first a Defection; and that in the Antichrists time onely that eclipse of Defection must fall upon the Church, all the Romish Catholikes are strong enough: otherwise their Church must be daily subiect to erre, which is cleane contrary to their maine doctrine. Then describing him (he saith) that The man of Sin, Filius perditionis, shal exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God. But who these be whom of the Psalnist saith Dixi, vos Dij estis; Bellarmine can tell. In old Diuinitie it was wont to be Kings: Bellarmine wil adde Church-men; Let it be both. It is well enough knowen, who
now

now exalteth himselfe above both the swords.

And after that S. Paul hath thus described the Person, he next describeth the Seat; and telleth that He shall sit in the Temple of God, that is, the bosome of the Church; yea, in the very heart thereof. Now where this Apostolike Seat is, I leaue it to be guessed: And likewise who it is that sitting there, sheweth himselfe to be God; pardoning sinnes, redeeming Soules, and defining Faith, controuling and iudging all men, and to be iudged of none.

2. Thes. 2. 4.

Anent the Time, S. Paul is plainest of all. For he calleth the Thessalonians to memory, That when he was with them hee told them these things: and therefore they know (saith hee) what the impediment was, and who did withhold that the man of sinne was not reuealed, although the mystery of iniquitie was already working. That the Romane Emperours in S. Pauls time needed no reuealing to the Christians to be men of Sinne or sinfull men, no child doubteth: but the reuelation he speaketh of was a mysterie, a secret; It should therefore seeme that hee durst not publish in his Epistle what that impediment was. It may be hee meant

Verse 5.

Verse 6.

Verse 7.

(b)

by

by the translating of the Seate of the Romane Empire, and that the translation thereof should leaue a rounge for the man of Sinne to sit downe in. And that he meant not that man of Sinne of these Ethnicke Emperours in his time, his introduction to this discourse maketh it more then manifest. For he saith (fearing they should be deceiued, thinking the day of the Lords second comming to be at hand) he hath therefore thought good to forewarne them that this generall Defection must first come. Whereby it well appeareth that hee could not meane by the present time but by a future, and that a good long time. otherwise he proued ill his argument, that the Lords comming was not at hand. Neither can the forme of the Destruction of this man of Sinne agree with that maner of spoile, that the Gothes & Vandals made of* Ethnick Rome. For our Apostle saith, ^a That this wicked man shalbe consumed by the Spirit of the Lords mouth, and abolished by his comming. Now I would thinke that the word of God and the Preaching thereof, should bee meant by the Spirit of the Lords mouth, which should peece and peece consume and diminish the power of that

* For so doeth
Tertius call
Rome when it
was spoiled by
them, though
it was Christi
an many yeres
before.

a Verse 8.

that man of Sinne, till the brightnesse of the Lordes second comming, should utterly abolish him. And by his expressing the meanes of his working, he doeth likewise (in my opinion) explain his meaning very much. For he saith, It shall be by a strong delusion, by lying wonders, &c. Well, what Church it is that wanteth them of their innumerable miracles, and yet most of them contrary to their owne doctrine: Bellarmine can best tell you with his hungry Mare, that turned her taile to her prouender and kneeled to the Sacrament; And yet (I am sure) he wil be ashamed to say, that the holy Sacrament is ordeined to be worshipped by Oues & Bowes, & cætera pecora campi.

Thus haue I prooued out of S. Paul now, that the time of the Antichrists comming, and the generall Defection was not to bee till long after the time that he wrote in; That his Seat was to be in the Temple and Church of God; and, That his Action (which can best poynt at his Person) should be to exalt himselfe aboue all that were called Gods. S. Iohn indeed doth more amply, though mystically describe this Antichrist, which under the figure of a monstrous Beast, with se-

Verf. 8. 9.

Bellar. lib. 3. de
Euchar. cap. 8.

Reuel. 17. 51.

Vers. 3.

Vers. 18.

Vers. 5.

Cap. 18. 52.

Vers. 5.

uen heads and ten hornes, he sets forth in the xij. chap. and then interpreteth in the xvij. where he calls her a Whore sitting vpon many waters, and riding vpon the saide monstrous Beast; concluding that Chapter with calling that Woman, that great city which reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth. And both in that Chapter, and in the beginning of the next, hee calles that great City, Babylon.

So as to continue herein my formerly proposed Methode, of the Time, Seat, and Person of Antichrist; this place doth clearely and vndernably declare that Rome is, or shalbe the Seat of that Antichrist. For first, no Papist now denieth that by Babylon here Rome is directly meant; and that this Woman is the Antichrist, doeth clearely appeare by the time of his working (described by 42. moneths in the xij. Chap.) which doeth iustly agree with that three yeeres and a halfes time, which all the Papistes giue to the Reigne of Antichrist. Besides that, the Beast it selfe with seuen heads and ten hornes, hauing one of her heads wounded and healed againe, is described iust alike in the xij. and xvij. chap. being in the former prooued to be the Antichrist by the

the time of her reigne; and in the latter Rome by the name of Babylon, by the confession of all the Papists: so as one point is now cleare, that Rome is the Seat of the Antichrist.

Neither will that place in the xj. Chap. serue to shifft off this poynt, and proue the Antichrists Seate to bee in Ierusalem, where it is saide; That the Corpses of the Witnesses shall lie in the great Citie, spirituall Sodome and Egypt, where our Lord also was crucified. For the word spirituall is applied both to Sodome, Egypt, and Ierusalem in that place; And when he hath named Sodome and Egypt, hee doeth not subioyne Ierusalem with a single vbi; but with an vbi &, as if hee would say; and this Antichrists abomination shall bee so great, as his Seate shall be as full of Spirituall whoredomes and Idolatries, as Sodome and Egypt was; nay, and so bloodie in the persecution of the Saints, as our Lord shall bee crucified againe in his members. And who hath so meanely read the Scriptures (if he haue euer read them at all) that knoweth it not to bee a common phrase in them, to call CHRIST persecuted and slaine, when his Saints are so used? So did CHRIST say,

Chap. II. 8.

Matt. 25. 40.

(b 3)

spea-

Acts 9.4.

Reuel. 18. 24.

Cap. 13. 3.

speaking of the latter day; and in the same style did hee speake to S. Paul at his conuerſion. And that Babylon, or Rome (ſince Bellarmine is contented it bee ſo called) is that great Citie, where our Lord was crucified, the laſt verſe of the xviij. Chap. doeth alſo clearly proue it. For there it is ſaid, That in that Citie was found the blood of the Prophets, & of the Saints, and of all that were ſlaine vpon the earth; and I hope CHRIST was one of them that were ſlaine vpon the earth. And beſides that, it may well bee ſaide that hee was ſlaine in that great Citie Babylon, ſince by the Romane authoritie he was put to death, vnder a Romane ludge, and for a Romane quarrell: for he could not bee a friend to Cæſar, that was not his enemy.

This poynt now being cleared of the Antichriſts Seate, as I haue already ſayd; wee are next to find out the Time when the Antichriſt ſhall raigne, if it bee not already come. In the xij. Chap. S. Iohn ſaith, that this Beaſt with the ſeuē heads and tenne hornes, had one of his heads wounded and healed againe; and interpreting that in the xviij. hee ſaith, that theſe ſeuē

seuen heads are also seuen Kings, whereof
 five are fallen, one is, and an other is not yet
 come, and when he commeth hee shall con-
 tinue a short space. And the beast that was
 and is not, is the eight, and yet one of the se-
 uen. *By which Beast hee meaneth the Anti-
 christ, who was not then come, I meane in the A-
 postles dayes, but was to come after. So as be-
 tweene the time of the Apostles and the end of
 the world, must the Time of the Antichrists
 comming be; and with this the Papiſts doe also
 agree. Whereby it appeareth that Babylon,
 which is Rome, shall bee the Seate of the Anti-
 christ; but not that Ethnicke Rome which
 was in the Apostles dayes (for Iohn himselfe
 professeth that he is to write of nothing, but that
 which is to come after his time.) Nor yet that
 turning Christian Rome while she was in the
 conuerting, which immediatly followed the Apo-
 stles time, glorious by the Martyrdome of so
 many godly Bishops: But that Antichristian
 Rome, when as the Antichrist shall set downe
 his seat there; after that by the working of that
 Myſterie of iniquitie, Christian Rome shall
 become to bee corrupted; and so that deadly
 wound*

Cap. 17, 10.

Verse 11.

Reuel. 1. 1.
 & cap. 4 1.

wound, which the Gothes and Vandales gaue Rome, shall be cured in that Head or King, the Antichrist, who thereafter shall arise & reigne for a long space.

But here it may be obiected, that the Antichrist cannot reigne a long space; since S. Iohn saith in two or three sundry places, that the Antichrist shall worke but the space of three yeeres and a halfe. Surely who will but a little acquaint himselfe with the phrases and Style of S. Iohn in his Apocalyps, shall finde that he doeth ordinarily set downe numerum certum pro incerto. So doeth he in his twelue thousand of euery tribe that will be safe; so doeth hee in his Army of two hundred thousand, that were sent to kill the third part of the men, and so doeth hee in diuers other places. And therefore who will but remember that in all his Visions in the said Booke, hee directly imitates the fashions of the Prophet Ezekiels, Daniels, and Zacharies Visions (borrowing their phrases that prophesied before CHRIST, to utter his Prophecies in, that was to speake of the last dayes) shall finde it very probable that in these three dayes and a halfe hee imitated Daniels Weekes, accounting

cap. 7.

cap. 9. 16. 18.

ting for his Week the time between CHRISTs
first and second comming, and making Anti-
christ to triumph the halfe of that time or spiri-
tuall weeke. For as to that literall interpretation
(as all the Papists make it) of three yeeres and a
halfe, and that time to fall out directly the ve-
ry last dayes, saue five and fortie, before
CHRIST his second comming, it is directly
repugnant to the whole New Testament. For
CHRIST saith, That in the latter dayes men
shall be feasting, marrying, & at all such worldly
finesse, when the last houre shall come in a
clappe vpon them; One shall bee at the Mill.
One vpon the toppe of the house, and so forth.
CHRIST telleth a Parable of the five foolish
Virgins to shew the vnlooked-for comming of this
houre; Nay, he saith the Sonne of man, nor
the Angels in heauen know not this time. S. Peter
biddeth vs WATCH AND PRAY, euer
awaiting vpon that houre. And S. Iohn in this
same Apocalyps doeth a twise tell vs, that
CHRIST will come as a theefe in the night;
And so doeth CHRIST say in the ^b Euangel.
Whereas if the Antichrist shall reigne three
yeeres and a halfe before the latter day, and that

Matth. 24. 41.

Matth. 25.

a Reuel. 3. 3.
and 16. 15.

b Matth. 24. 44

(i)

there

there shall be but iust 45. daies of time after his destruction; then shall not the iust day and houre of the latter day be vnknownen to them that shall be aliue in the world at the time of Antichrists destruction. For first according to the Papists doctrine, all the world shall know him to be the Antichrist, both by the two Witnessses doctrine, and his sudden destruction; And consequently they cannot be ignorant, that the latter day shall come iust 45. dayes after: and so CHRIST shall not come as a theefe, nor the world be taken at vnawares; contrary to all the Scriptures before alleadged, and many more. And thus haue wee proued Rome to be the Seat of the Antichrist, and the second halfe of that spiritual Weeke between the first and second comming of CHRIST, to be the time of his Reigne. For in the first halfe thereof the mystery of iniquitie beganne to worke; but the man of sinne was not yet reuealed.

But who these witnessses should be, is a great question. The generall conceit of the Papist's is, that it must be Enoch and Elias: And herein is Bellarmine so strong, as hee thinketh him in a great error (if not an Heretike) that doubteth of

of it. But the Vanitie of this Iewish fable I wil in few words discover.

The Cardinall, in his booke of Controuersies bringeth fower places of Scripture for probation of this idle dreame: two in the Olde Testament, Malachie and Ecclesiasticus, and two in the New, CHRIST in Matthew (hee might haue added Marke too) and Iohn in the xi. of the Apocalyps. First, for the generall of all those places, I dare boldly affirme, That there is not a word in them, nor in all the rest of the Scriptures that saith, that either Enoch or Elias shall returne to fight against Antichrist, and shall be slaine by him, nor any such like matter. Next as to euery place in particular, to beginne with Malachie, I know not who can better interpret him then CHRIST, who twise in Matthew, chap. xi. and xviij. and once in Marke tels both the multitude, and his owne Disciples, that Iohn Baptist was that promised Elias. And herein doth Bellarmine deale most vnfaithfully with CHRIST: for his demonstration that Antichrist is not yet come, because Enoch and Elias are not yet returned; hee, for his probation thereof, citeth these wordes of

(i 2)

Christ

Bellar. de Rom.
Pont. lib. 3.
cap. 6.

Mat. 11. 14.
and 17. 12.
Mar. 9. 13.

Christ in the xvij of Matthew, Elias shall indeed come and restore all things; *but omits his very next words interpreting the same*, That he is alreadie come in the person of Iohn Baptist. *Nay, wherby he taketh vpon him to answer Biblianders obiection, that CHRIST did by Iohn the Baptist, vnderstand the prophetic of Elias comming to be accomplished, he picketh out the words, Qui habet aures, audiat, in the xi. of Matthew, immediatly following that purpose of Elias, making of them a great mystery: and neuer taketh knowledge, that in the xvij. by him selfe before alledged, CHRIST doth interpret Malachy in the same maner without any subioyning of these words, Qui habet aures, audiat; adioyning shamelesly hereunto a fowle Paraphrase of his owne, telling vs what CHRIST would haue saide; nay, in my conscience, hee meant what CHRIST should and ought to haue said, if he had beene a good Catholike, setting downe there a glosse of Orleance that destroyes the Text. Thus ye see, how shamefully he abuseth CHRISTs wordes, who in three sundry places (as I haue said) interpreteth the second comming of Elias to be meant by Iohn the Baptist.*

Baptist. *Hee likewise cauls most dishonestly upon that word Venturus. For CHRIST vsseth that word but in the repeating their opinion; but interpreting it, that hee was already come in the person of Iohn Baptist. As if hee had said, The prophesie is indeed true that Elias shall come; but I say vnto you that Elias iam venit, meaning of Iohn Baptist: and so he first repeates the words of the Prophecie in the future time, as the Prophet spake them, and next sheweth them to be now accomplished in the Person of Iohn, in the present time. Neither can these words of Malachie [Dies magnus & horribilis] falsifie CHRISTs Commentarie vpon him. For if that day whereupon the Sauour of the world suffered, when the^a Sunne was totally obscured from the sixt houre to the ninth; the vaile of the Temple rent asunder from the top to the bottome; and the earth did quake; the Stones were clouen, the graues did open themselues and the dead arose: If that day (I say) was not a great and horrible day, I know not what to cal a horrible day. Which day no doubt had destroyed the whole nation of the Iewes without exception by a iust Anatheme, if the said Iohn the fore-run-*

(i 3)

ner

Matt. 17. 11.

Malac. 4. 5.
Math 27.
a This ob-
scuring of the
Sunne was so
extraordinary
and fearefull,
that Dionysius,
onely led by
the light of
nature and
humane lear-
ning, cryed
out at the
sight thereof,
Aut Deus pa-
uitur, aut vi-
ces patientis
dolet.

Malac. 4. 6.

ner had not first conuerted many, by the doctrine of Repentance and by Baptisme. But why should I presume any more to interpret Malachy, since it is sufficient that CHRIST himselfe hath interpreted him so? And since Ipse dixit; nay, ter dixit, per quem facta sunt omnia, what mortall man dare interpret him otherwise; nay, directly contrary?

Eccle. 48 9.

Mala. 4. 6.

Now for that place of Ecclesiasticus; as the sonne of Syrach onely borroweth it from Malachie (as appeareth by these wordes of his, of conuerting the sonnes hearts to their Fathers, which are Malachies owne words) so doth CHRISTs Comentary serue as well to interpret the one as the other: it being no shame for that mortall Iesus to bee commented and interpreted by the immortall and true IESVS, though to the shame and confusion of the Iesuits heresies herein.

Eccle. 44 16

But Enoch must be ioyned to Elias in this errand, onely to beare up the couples, as I thinke. For no place of Scripture speaketh of his returning againe, only it is said in Ecclesiasticus the xliij, that Enoch pleased GOD, and was translated to Paradise, vt daret Gentibus

abus sapientiam, or pœnitentiam; since they will haue it so. And what is this to say? marry that Enoch shall returne againe to this worlde, and fight against the Antichrist. A prettie large Comment indeed, but no right Commentary upon that Text. When Bellarmine was talking of Elias; he insisted, That Elias must come to conuert the Iewes principally, restituere tribus Iacob. But when he speaketh here of Enoch, he must dare Gentibus pœnitentiam, and not a word of Iewes. Belike they shal come for sundry errands, and not both for one: Or like Paul and Peter, the one shall be Apostle for the Iewes, and the other for the Gentiles. What need such wilde racked Commentaries for such three wordes? Will not the sense stand well and clearely enough, that Enoch pleased GOD and was translated to Paradise; that by the example of his reward, the Nations might repent and imitate his holy footsteps? For what could more mightily perswade the Nations to repent; then by letting them see that holy Man carried quicke vpp to Heauen, for reward of his vprightnesse; whereas all the rest of the people died and went to corruption? And where Scrip-
ture

a P. 27.

Mat. 22 32.

1. 16. 5.

Lib. cont. Ia-
deos, cap. 2.

ture faileth, the Cardinall must helpe himselfe
 with the Fathers, to proue both that Enoch and
 Elias are yet aliue, and that they shall hereafter
 die; but with the like felicitie, as in his alledging
 of Scriptures; to vse his owne wordes of me in
 his a pamphlet. For which purpose hee citeth five
 Fathers; Irenæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius,
 Hierome and Agustine. Vpon this they all
 agree in deed, that Enoch and Elias are still a-
 liue both, which no Christian (I hope) will denie.
 For Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob are all still a-
 liue, as Christ telleth vs; for God is Deus vi-
 uentium, non mortuorum. Much more then
 are Enoch and Elias aliue, who neuer tasted of
 death after the manner of other men. But as to
 the next point, that they should die hereafter, his
 first two witnesses, Irenæus and Tertullian say
 the direct contrary. For Irenæus saith, that they
 shall remaine in Paradise till the consummation,
 conspicātes incorruptionem. Now to remain
 there till the consummation, and to see incorrup-
 tion, is directly contrary to their returning to the
 world againe and suffering of death. Tertullian
 likewise agreeing hereunto saith most clearly,
 That Enoch hath neuer tasted of death, vt æter-
 nitatis

nitatis candidatus: now hee is ill priuiledged with eternitie, if he must die againe; As for his places cited out of the other three Fathers, they all confirme that first point, That they are still alive: but that they must die againe, they make no mention.

But here speaking of the Ancient Fathers, let mee take this occasion to forewarne you concerning them: That though they mistake and vnderstand not rightly many mysteries in the Apocalyps, it is no wonder. For the booke thereof, was still sealed in their dayes. And though the Mysterie of iniquitie was alreadie working, yet was not the man of Sinne yet reuealed. And it is a certaine rule in all darke prophecies; That they are neuer clearely vnderstood, till they be accomplished.

2. Theſ. 2.

And thus hauing answered his two places, in the Olde Testament, by his thirde in the New Testament, containing Christs owne words: which being, luce clariora, I neede speake no more of them. I am now to speake of the fourth place of Scripture, which is in the xj. of the Apocalyps. For the two witnesses (forsooth) there mentioned, must be Enoch and Elias.

Reuelat. 11.

(k)

But

But how this can stand with any point of Diuinity or likelihood of Reason that these two glorified Bodies shall come downe out of heauen or Paradise (make it what you will) preach, and fight against the Antichrist, bee slaine by him after many thousand yeeres exemption from the naturall course of death, rise againe the third day in imitation of Christ; & then (hauing wrought many woonders) to goe vp againe to Heauen; making an ordinary Poste betwixt Heauen and Earth: how this (I say) can agree either with Diuinitie or good Reason, I confesse it passeth my capacity. And especially that they must bee clad in Sackcloth, whose bodies (I hope) haue beene so long agoe so free from sinne, as I thinke they should neede no more such maceration for sinne. For they must be now either in Heauen or Paradise. If in Heauen (as doubtlesse they are) their bodies must bee glorified: for no corruptible thing can enter there; and consequently they can no more be subiect to the sensible things of this world, especially to death. But if they be in earthly Paradise, wee must first know where it is.

Reuel. 21. 27.

*Lib de Gra.
primi hominis:*

*Bellarmino indeede in his Controuersies is
much*

much troubled to find out the place where Paradise is, and whether it be in the earth, or in the ayre. But these are all vanities. The Scriptures tell vs, that Paradise and the garden of Eden therein, was a certaine place vpon the earth, which God chose out to set Adam into, and hauing thereafter for his sinne banished him from the same, it is a blasphemy to thinke that any of Adams posteritie came euer there againe. For in Adam were all his posteritie accursed, and banished from the earthly Paradise: like as all the earth in generall, and Paradise in speciall were accursed in him; the second Adam hauing by grace, called a certaine number of them to bee Coheritors with him of the heauenly Paradise and Ierusalem. And doubtlesly, the earthly Paradise was defaced at the Flood, if not before: and so lost all that exquisite fertility and pleasantnes, wherein it once surpassed all the rest of the earth. And that it should be lifted vp in the aire, is like one of the dreames of the Alcoran. Surely no such miracle is mentioned in the Scriptures, and bath no ground but from the curious fancies of some boyling braines, who cannot be content, Sapere ad sobrietatem.

Gene. 2.

Rom. 12. 3.

Gen. 5. 24.

2. King. 2. 11,
10.

In heauen then for certaine are Enoch and Elias: for Enoch (saith the text) walked with GOD and was taken up, and Elias was seene carried up to heauen in a fiery chariot. And that they who haue beene the In-dwellers of Heauen these many thousand yeeres, and are freed from the Lawes of mortalitie; that these glorious and incorruptible bodies (I say) shall come into the worlde againe, preach and worke miracles, and fighting against the Antichrist bee slaine by him, whome naturall death could not before take hold of: as it is a fabulous inuention, so is it quite contrary to the nature of such sanctified creatures. Especially I wonder, why Enoch should be thought to bee one of these two witnesses for CHRIST. For it was Moses and Elias that were with Christ at the transfiguration, signifying the Law and the Prophets: which would be the fittest witnesses for convincing of Antichrist. But why they haue exempted Moses, and put Enochs head in the yooke, I cannot conceiue. But I haue too much laboured in the refuting of this foolish, and indeed childish fable, which I am so farre from beleeuing in any sort, as I protest in GODS presence, I cannot hold

hold any learned Diuine (in our age now) to be a Christian, that will beleue it; but worthy to bee ranked with the Scribes & Pharises, that raued and dreamed vpon the comming againe of Elias, though CHRIST told them the contrary. As for some of the Ancients that mistooke this matter, I doe not censure them so hardly; for the reason that I haue already alledged concerning them.

And hauing now refuted that idle fable; that those two Witneses were Enoch and Elias: it falleth mee next to guesse, what in my opinion should be meant by them. I confesse, it is farre easier to refute such a groundlesse fable as this is, contrary to all grounds of Diuinity and Reason, then to set downe a true interpretation of so high and darke a mystery. And therefore as I will not presume to binde any other man to my opinion herein, if his owne reason leads him not thereunto, so shall I propone such probable coniectures, as (I hope) shall be free from Heresie, or vnlawfull curiosity.

In two diuers fashions may the mysterie of these Witneses be lawfully and probably interpreted, in my opinion. Whereof the one is, that by these two Witneses should be meant the Olde

and New Testaments. For as the Antichrist cannot chuse but bee an aduersary to the word of GOD, aboue all things; so will he omit no endeavour to disgrace, corrupt, suppress and destroy the same. And now whether this Booke of the two Testaments, or two Witnesses of Christ, haue suffered any violence by the Babylonian Monarchy or not, I need say nothing; Res ipsa loquitur. I will not weary you with recounting those Common Places used for disgracing it: as calling it a Nose of waxe, a dead Letter, a leaden Rule, and a hundred such like Phrases of reproch. But how far the Traditions of men, and Authority of the Church are preferred to these witnesses, doeth sufficiently appeare in the Babylonian doctrine. And if there were no more but that little booke with that pretie Inscription, Del' Insuffisance del' Escriture Sainte, it is enough to proue it. And as to the corrupting thereof; the corruptions of the old Latine translation must not be corrected, though it bid euerrere domum in stead of euerrere, for seeking of a pen ry; And though it say of Iohn, Sic eum volo manere donec veniam, in place of Si, though it bee knowen a plaine lye, and that the
very

Cardinall
Peron.

Luke 15. 8.

Iohn 21.
22, 23.

very next wordes of the Text disproove the same. Nay, so farre must we be from correcting it, as that the vulgar Translation must be preferred by Catholikes, to the Bible in the owne Originall tongue. And is it a small corrupting of Scriptures to make all, or the most part of the Apocrypha of equall faith with the Canonickall Scriptures, contrary to the Fathers opinions and Decrees of ancient Councils? And what blasphemous corrupting of Scripture is it, to turne Dominus into Domina throughout the whole Psalmes? And thus our Ladies Psalter was lately reprinted in Paris. Is not this to confound CHRISTs person with hers? And as for suppressing of the Scriptures how many hundred yeeres were the people kept in such blindnesse, as these witnesses were almost unknowne? for the Layicks durst not, being forbidden, and the most part of the Cleargie, either would or could not meddle with them.

Made by Bonaventura
Doctor Seraphicum.

Thus were these two witnesses of Christ (whom of himselfe saith, Scrutamini Scripturas, illæ enim testimonium perhibent de me) These ^a two Olines bringing peace to all the beleeuers, euen peace of Conscience: These ^b two Candle-

Iohn 5.39.

a Reue. 11. 4.

b Ibid.

See *Expositio*
Missæ, annex-
ed to *Ordo* *Re-*
manus, set
forth by G.
Cassander.

Verse 8.

Colof. 2. 20.

Verse 8.

Candlesticks standing in the sight of GOD, and giving light to the Nations; represented by Candlesticks euen in the very Order of the Roman Masse: Thus were these two Witnesses (I say) disgraced, corrupted and suppressed (nay, so suppressed and silenced, as he was brent for an Heretike that durst presume to looke vpon them) kept close in a strange tongue that they might not be vnderstood, Legends and lying woonders supplying their place in the Pulpits. And so did their Bodies lie in the Streetes of the great Citie, spiritually Sodome, for spirituall fornication which is idolatrie; spiritually Egypt, for bringing the Saints of God in bondage of humane Traditions [Quare oneramini ritibus?] So did their bodies (I say) lie 3. daies and a halfe; that is, the halfe of that spirituall Weeke betweene Christ his first and second coming; and as dead carcases indeed did the Scriptures then lye without a monument, being layed open to all contempt, cared for almost by none, vnderstood by as few; nay, no man durst call for them for feare of punishment, as I haue already said. And thus lying dead, as it were, without life or vigour (as the Law of God did
till

2 Chro 34.14.

Verse 10.

till it was reuiued in Iosias time) The Inhabitants of the earth, that is, worldly men, reioyced and sent gifts to other, for ioy that their flesbly libertie was now no more awed, nor curbed by that two edged sword: for they were now sure, that to doe what they would, their purse would procure them pardons from Babylon. Omnia vænalia Romæ; so as men needed no more to looke vp to heauen, but downe in their purses to finde Pardons. Nay, what needed any more suing to heauen, or taking it by violence and seruencie of zeale; when the Pardons came and offered themselves at euery mans doores? And diuers spirituall men vaunted themselves, that they neither vnderstood Olde Testament nor new.

Thus were these two Witnesses vsed in the second halfe of this spirituall Weeke; who in the first halfe thereof were clad in sackcloth; that is, preached repentance to all Nations, for the space of foue or fixe hundreth yeeres after Christ: GOD making his Word or Witnessse so triumph, riding vpon the white Horse in the time of the Primitiue Church, as that they overcame all that opposed themselves vnto it,

Verse 3.

Reuel. 6.2.

(1) beating

1. Cor. 10. 4.

beating downe euery high thing, as Paul sayeth; excluding from heauē all that belecue not therein: as strongly with the spirituall fire thereof, conuincing the stiffenecked pride of vnbelleuers, as euer Moses or Elias did, by the plagues of Egypt and famine, conuince the rebellious Egyptians and stiffe-necked Israelites.

Reucl. 11. 7.

a Printed at
Venice Anno
1562.

Neither shall it be enough to disgrace, corrupt and suppress them; but **KILLED** must they be at the last. To which purpose commeth forth a Censura generalis, vt mucrone censorio iugulare eas possit; and cutteth their throates indeed. For the Authour ordaineth all Translations, but their owne, to be burnt, which is yet commonly practised: nay he professeth, he commeth not to correct but to destroy them, controlling and calling euery place of Scripture Hereticall, that disagreeeth from their Traditions (with almost as many foule wordes and railing epithetes, as the Cardinal bestoweth on my Apologie) not ruling, nor interpreting Scripture by scripture, but making their Traditions to be such a touchstone for it, as he condemneth of Heresie not only, those places of Scripture that he citerh, but layeth the same generall coudemnation vpon
all

all other the like places wherefoever they be writ in the Scriptures. And yet (praised bee GOD) we beginne now with our eyes, as our predecessors haue done in some ages before, to see these Witnesses rise againe, and shine in their former glory: GOD, as it were, setting them vpon againe vpon their feete, and raising them to the heauens in a triumphall cloud of glory, like Elias his fiery chariot. Which exalting of the Gospel againe, hath bred such an earthquake and alteration amongst many Nations; as a tenth part, or a good portion of these that were in subiection to that great Citie, to wit, Babylon, are fallen from her; seuen thousand, that is, many thousands hauing beene killed vpon the occasion of that great alteration; and many others conuerted to the feare of GOD, and giuing glory to the GOD of heauen. This now is one of the wayes, by which (I thinke) this place of Scripture may be lawfully and probably interpreted.

Verse 11.

12.

13.

The other is more common, and seemeth more literally to agree with the Text. And this is to interpret, not the word of GOD, but the Preachers thereof to bee meant by these Witnesses.

(12)

Few

Deut. 19. 15.

Reuel. 11. 3.

*a Sanguis
Martyrum est
semen Eccles.
Verse 11.*

Actes 2. 41.

Reuel. 18. 4.

*Few they were that first beganne to reueale the man of Sinne, and discouer his corruptions; and therefore well described by the number of two Witnesses: Nam in ore duorum aut trium testiū stabit omne verbum. And in no greater number were they that begun this worke, then the greatnesse of the errand did necessarily require, They prophecied in sackcloth, for they preached Repentance. That diuers of them were put to cruell deaths, is notorious to the world. And likewise that (in the persons of their Successours in doctrine)^a they rose againe; and that in such power and efficacie, as is more then miraculous. For where it is accounted in the Scriptures a miraculous work of GOD wrought by his holy Spirit, when the Apostle S. Peter conuerted about three thousand in one day; these Witnesses I speake of, by the force of the same Spirit, conuerted many mighty Nations in few yeeres: who still continue praising GOD, that he hath deliuered vs from the tyranny of Antichrist that raigneth ouer that great Citie; and with a full crie proclaiming, Goe out of her my people, lest ye be partaker of her finnes and of her plagues. Let therefore these Mi-
racle*

racle-mongers that surfet the world, and raise the praise of paper daily, with setting forth olde, though new gilded Miracles and Legends of lies; ~~Let~~ such (I say) consider of this great and wonderfull miracle indeede, and to their shame compare it with their poultry wares. Thus hauing in two fashions deliuered my coniecture, what I take to be meant by these two Witnesles in the xj of the Apocalyps, there being no great difference between them: In the one, taking it to bee the word of God it selfe; In the other, the word of God too, but in the mouthes of his Preachers: It resteth nowe that I come to the third point of the description of Antichrist, which is anent his Person.

That by the *Whoore* of Babylon that rideth upon the Beast, is meant a Seat of an Empire, and a successiue number of men sitting thereupon, and not any one man; doeth well appeare by the forme of the description of the Antichrist throughout all the sayd Booke. For in the last verse of the xvij. Chapter the Woman is expounded to bee, That great Citie that reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth; which cannot signifie the only person of one man, but a succes-

(13)

fine

Cap. 17.

Verse 18.

Verse 9.

Verse 13.

Verse 12.

a From the
time of Con-
stantine the
great his re-
moving of the
Empire from
Rome to Con-
stantinople, to
the time of
Beniface the
third, to w. t.
about 276.
yeeres

five number of men (as I haue already saide)
whose seat that great City must be: like as in the
same Chapter, The seven heads of the Beast
are two wayes expounded. First, they are called
seven Hills, which is plaine; And next they are
called seven Kings, which cannot bee meant by
the Kings that shall giue their power to the
Beast, and bee subiect vnto her, which is imme-
diately after expressed by the tenne hornes:
But rather appeareth to be those seven formes of
gouernment of that Seat: five of which had al-
ready been and fallen; As Kings, Consuls, Di-
ctators, Decemviri, and Tribuni militum.
The sixt was in the time of S. Iohn his writing
of this booke, which was the Gouernement of
the Emperours. The seventh which was not
yet come, and was to last but for a short space,
was the^a Ecclesiasticall Gouernment by Bi-
shops, which was to come vpon the translation
of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople;
though their gouernment was in a maner substi-
tute to the Emperours. For though that forme of
Gouernment lasted about the space of 276.
yeeres; yet was it but short in comparison of the
long time of the reigne of the Antichrist (not
yet

yet expired) which succeeded immediately thereunto. And the eighth, which is the Beast that was and is not, and is to goe to perdition, is the Antichrist: the eighth forme of Gouvernement indeed by his absolutenesse, and yet the seventh, because hee seemeth but to succeed to the Bishops in an Ecclesiasticall forme of government, though by his greatnes hee shall make Babels Empire in glory, like to that Magnificence wherein that great Citie triumphed, when it most flourished: which in S. Iohns time was much decayed, by the factions of the great men, the mutinies of the armies, and the unworthinesse of the Emperours. And so that flourishing state of that great Citie or Beast, which it was in before S. Iohns time, and Being much a decayed was but in a maner in his time, should be restored unto it againe by Antichrist: who as he ascendeth out of the botomlesse pit, so must hee goe to Destruction. And likewise by that great lamentation that is made for the destruction of Babylon in the xvij. Chapter, both by the Kings and by the Merchants of the earth; where it is thrice repeated for aggravating the pittie of her desolation, that That great Citie fell

Verse 11.

a Not in respect of the extent, and limites of the Empire: but in regard of the government thereof, and glory of the citie.
Reuel. xvij.
Verse 9.
and 11.
Verse 10.
16. 19.

Verse 9.

Verse 12.

tell in an houre : *By that great lamentation (I say) it well appeareth, That the raigne of Antichrist must continue longer then three yeeres and a halfe, or any one mans time. For the Kings that had committed fornication with her, & in delicijs vixerant; behoued to haue had a longer time for contracting of that great acquaintance: And the Merchants of the earth set her foorth and describe her at great length, as the very staple of all their riches; which could not bee so soone gathered as in one mans time. And to conclude now this description of the Antichrist; I will set downe vnto you all that is spoken of him in the Apocalyps in a short methode, for the further explaining of these three points that I haue already handled.*

r. Description
of Antichrist

Reuel. cap. vj

Verse 2.

Verse 4.

The Antichrist is foure times (in my opinion) described by Iohn in the Apocalyps, in foure sundrie visions; and a short Compendium of him repeated againe in the xx. Chapter. He is first described by a pale Horse in the vision of the Seales in the sixth Chapter. For after that CHRIST had triumphed vpon a white Horse in the first Seale, by the propagation of the Gospel; and that the red Horse in the second Seale,
is as

is as busse in persecution, as CHRIST is in overcomming by the constancie of his Martyrs; and that famine and other plagues signified by the blacke Horse in the third Seale, haue succeeded to these former persecutions: Then cometh fourth the Antichrist vpon a pale Horse in the fourth Seale, hauing Death for his rider, and Hell for his conuoy; which rider fitted well his colour of palenesse: and he had power giuen^a him ouer the fourth part of the earth (which is Europe) to kill with the sword and vse great persecution; as Ethnick Rome did, figured by the red Horse: and to kill vwith spirituall hunger or famine of the true word of GOD; as the blacke Horse did by corporall famine and with death, whereby spirituall death is meant. For the Antichrist, signified by this pale Horse, shall afflict the Church both by persecution and temporall death; as also by alluring the Nations to idolatry, and so to spirituall death: and by the beasts of the earth shall hee procure their spirituall death; for hee shall send out the Locusts (ouer whom he is King) mentioned in the ninth Chapter of this booke; and the three Frogges, mentioned in the xvj. of the

(m) same;

Verse 5.

Verse 8.

a Or them, after other Translations, whereby is ioyntly vnderstood the said pale horse, together with his rider and conuoy, Death and Hell.

Verse 9.

Verse 10.

Verse 12.

The second
description.

Verse 1.

Verse 2.

Verse 3.

same; for intising of all Kings and Nations to drinke of the cup of her abominations. That that description now of Antichrist endeth there, it is more then plaine: for at the opening of the first Seale, the soules and blood of the murdered Saints cry for vengeance and hastning of iudgement; which in the sixth Seale is graunted vnto them by CHRISTs comming at the latter day; signified by heauens departing away, like a scrol when it is rolled: with a number of other sentences to the same purpose.

But because this might seeme a short and obscure description of the Antichrist; hee describeth him much more largely & specifickely, especially in the vision of the Trumpets in the ninth Chapter. For there hee saith, at the blowing of the fift Trumpet, Heresies being first spread abroad in three of the four former blasts; to wit, in the first, third, and fourth blast (for I take temporall perecution to be onely signified by the second blast) hee then saw a starre fall from Heauen, to whom was given the key of the bottomlesse pit; which being opened by him, with the smoke thereof came forth a number of Locusts, whom he largely describeth,

describeth, both by their craft and their strength; and then telleth the name of this their King, who brought them out of the bottomlesse pit, which is, Destroyer: By this Starre fallen from heauen, being signified, as I take it, some Person of great dignitie in the Church, whose duetie being to giue light to the world (as CHRIST saith) doeth contrary thereunto fall away like Lucifer, and set up a Kingdome, by the sending forth of that noisome packe of craftie cruell vermine, described by Locusts: and so is the Seat of the Antichrist begun to bee erected, whose doctrine is at length declared in the second vvoe, after the blast of the sixth Trumpet; where it is saide, That the remnant of men which were not killed by the plagues, repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship Deuils, and idols of golde, and of siluer, and of brasse, and of stone, and of wood, which neither can see, heare, nor goe. (As for worshipping of Deuils; looke your great Iesuited Doctor, Vasques: and as for all the rest, it is the maine doctrine of the Romane Church.) And then it is subioyned in this text,

(m 2)

that

Verse 11.

Math. 5. 14.

Verse 13.

Verse 20.

Lib. de Cultu
Adoration.
lib. 3. disp. 1.
cap. 5.

Verse 21.

that they repented not of their murther, their forcerie, their fornications, nor their theft.

By their murther, their persecution is meant, and bloody massacres. For their Sorcery consider of their Agnus Dei, that will sloken fire; of the hallowed shirts, and diuers sorts of Reliques; and also of Prayers that will preserve men from the violence of shot, of fire, of sword, of thunder, and such like dangers; And iudge, if this be not very like to Sorcerie and incantation of charmes.

By their Fornication is meant both their spirituall fornication of Idolatry, and also their corporall fornication; which doth the more abound amongst them, as well by reason of the restraint of their Churchmen from marriage, as also because of the many Orders of idle Monastike liues amongst them, as well for men as women: And continuall experience prooueth, that idlenesse is euer the greatest spurre to lecherie. And they are guiltie of Theft, in stealing from GOD the titles and greatnes of power due to him, and bestowing it vpon their head, the Antichrist: As also by heaping vpon their treasure with their iuggling wares and merchandise of the

the soules of men, by Iubiles, Pardons, Reliques and such like strong delusions.

That he endeth this description of Antichrist in the same ninth Chapter may likewise well appeare, by the Oath that that Mightie Angell sweareth in the sixt verse of the tenth Chapter: And after the blast of the sixt Trumpet, that time shall be no more, and that when the seuenth Angell shall blow his Trumpet, the mysterie of G O D shall be finished, as he had declared it to his seruants the Prophets. Onely in the eleuenth Chapter he describeth the means whereby the Antichrist was ouercome, whose raigne he had before described in the ix. Chapter; and telleth vs that the two witnesses, after that they haue beene persecuted by the Antichrist shall in the end procure his destruction. And in case any should thinke, that the Antichrist is onely spoken of in the xj. Chapter, and that the Beast spoken of in the xij. and xvij. Chapters doth onely signifie Ethnicke Rome; there needeth no other refutation of that conceit, then to remember them, that the Antichrist is neuer named in all that xi. Chapter, but where hee is called in the seuenth verse thereof

(m 3)

the

Cap. 10. ver. 6

Verse 7.

Cap. xj.

Verse 3.

Cap. xi.

Verse 7.

the Beast that commeth foorth of the bottomles pit: which by the description of the place he commeth out of, prooueth it to be the same Beast which hath the same originall in the xvij. Chapter, and in the very same words; so as it is euer but the same Antichrist repeated, and diuersly described in diuers visions.

The third description.

Cap. xij.
Verse 6.

Verse 15.

Cap. xiiij.

Verse 1.

Verse 2.

Now in the xij. and xiiij. Chapters and so foorth till the xvij. he maketh a more large and ample propheticall description of the state of the Church, and raigne of the Antichrist. For in the xij. Chap. he figureth the Church by a Woman flying from the Dragon (the Deuill) to the wilderness; And when the Dragon seeth he cannot otherwise ouer-reach her, he speweth forth waters like floods to cary her away; which signifieth many Nations, that were let loose to persecute and vex the Church. And in the xiiij. Chapter, out of that Sea of Nations that persecuted her ariseth that great Citie (Queene of all the Nations, and head of that persecution) figured by a Beast with seuen heads and ten hornes, like a Leopard; as well for the colour because it was full of spots, that is, defiled with corruptions; as also vsing a bastard forme of gouernement, in
shew

shew /spirituall, but in deed temporall ouer the Kings of the earth; like the Leopard that is a bastard beast betwixt a Lion and a Parde: hauing teete like a Beare, to signifie his great strength; and the mouth of a Lion, to shew his rauinous and cruell disposition.

This Beast who had his power from the Dragon, and had gotten a deadly wound in one of his heads, or formes of gouernment (by the Gothes and Vandals) and yet was healed againe; opened his mouth to blasphemies, and made warre against the Saints: nay, all the world must worship him; which worship Ethnicke Rome neuer craued of any, being contented to call their neighbour Kings Amici & socij populi Romani. And whether worship or adoration, euen with that same title, hee vsed to Popes at their creation, our Cardinall can best tell you.

Verse 3.

Verse 6.

Verse 7.

But then commeth another beast vp out of the earth, hauing indeed a more firme & settled originall: for she doth visibly and outwardly succeed to the true Church, and therefore she hath two hornes like the Lambe, in outward shew representing the spouse of CHRIST, and

Verse 11.

Verse 12.

2. Theſ. 2. 9

Verse 13.

Verse 15.

and pretending CHRIST to bee her defence: But shee speaketh like the Dragon, teaching damnable and deuiliſh doctrine. And this Apoſtatike (I ſhould ſay Apoſtolike) Church, after that ſhe hath made her great power manifeſt to the world, by doing all that the firſt Beaſt could doe, In conſpectu eius; that is, by ſhewing the greatneſſe of her power, to be nothing inferiour to the greatneſſe of the former Ethnick Empire : ſhee then is mooued with ſo great a deſire to aduance this Beaſt, now become Antichriſt, as ſhee cauſeth the earth and all that dwell therein, to worſhip this former Beaſt or Roman Monarch; transferring ſo, as it were, her owne power in his perſon. Yea, euen Emperours and Kings ſhall be faine to kiſſe his feet. And for this purpoſe ſhall ſhe worke great Miracles, wherein ſhe greatly prides her ſelfe, deceiuing men with lying wonders and efficacie of lyes, as S. Paul ſaith. And amongſt the reſt of her wonders, ſhe muſt bring Fire out of heauen, Fulmen excommunicationis, which can dethrone Princes. So that all that will not worſhip the image of the Beaſt, that is, his unlimited Supremacie, muſt be killed and burnt as Heretikes.

Heretikes. Yea, so peremptory will this Beast or false Prophet be (so called in the xvj. Chapter of this booke) for the aduancement of the other Beast, or Antichrist; as all sorts and rankes of people must receiue the marke or name of that Beast in their right hand, or in their forehead; without the which it should bee lawfull to none to buy, or sell: By the Marke in the forehead, signifying their outward profession and acknowledgement of their subiection vnto her; And by the Marke in their right hand, signifying their actnall implicate obedience vnto her, who they thinke cannot erre, though shee should commaund them to rebell against their naturall Princes; like that Cœca obediencia wherunto all the Iesuits are sworne: and like those Romish priests in this Countrey, that haue renounced and forsworne againe that Oath of Alleagiance; grounded vpon their naturall oath; which thought at their taking it, they confessed they did it out of conscience, and as obliged thereunto by their naturall duetie; yet now must they forswear it againe, for obedience to the Popes command; to whose will their conscience and reason must be blindly captiuated. And

(n)

who

Verse 17

Verse 16.

who euer denied this absolute power, might neither buy nor sell; for no man was bound to keepe any faith, or obserue any ciuill contracts with Heretikes: yea, to equiuocate and commit periurie towards them, is a lawfull thing in a Catholike.

Verse 15.

Irenæus aduersus Heres. lib. 5.

Enistfol. lib. 6.
cap. 30.

Now as to the Mystery anent the Number of his name, whether it shalbe understood by the number composed of the Letters in that Greeke word ΑΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, which word well sutes with the Romish Church, Romish Faith, and Latine Service. Or whether, in respect that in the Text, it is called the number of the man, ye will take it for the number or date of the yeere of G O D, wherein that first Man liued, that first tooke the title of the Antichrist vpon him, I leaue it to the Readers choise. By that first Man, I meane Bonifacius tertius, who first called himselfe Vniuersall Bishop, which S. Gregorie that liued till within three yeeres of his time, a foretold would be the style of the Antichrist, or his Præcursor: for though he died threescore yeeres before the 666. of CHRIST, yet was that Title but fully settled vpon his Successors, sixtie yeeres after his time. Or if yee list to count it
from

from Pompey his spoiling of the Temple, to this same Mans time; it will goe very neere to make iust vp the said number 666.

Now the raigne of the Antichrist being thus prophetically described in the xij. Chapter; his fall is prophecied in the xiiij. First by the ioyfull and triumphall New song of the Saints in heauen: And next by the proclamation of three Angels; whereof the first hauing an euerlasting Gospel in his hand to preach to all Nations (the true armour indeed wherewith the Witneses fought against the Antichrist;) This first Angel, I say, proclaimed Feare and glory to GOD, since the houre of his Iudgement was come. And the second proclaimed the fall of Babylon, which is the destruction of the Antichrist. And the third prohibited vnder great paines, euen the paine of eternall damnation, that none should worship the Beast, or receiue his Marke. But though that in the rest of this Chapter the latter day be againe prophecied, as a thing that shall come shortly after the reuealing of the man of Sinne; yet in the xv. Chap. he telleth of seuen plagues, vnder the name of Vials, that shall first fall

(n 2)

upon

Cap.xiiij.
Verse 3.

Verse 6.

Verse 7.

Verse 8.

Verse 9.

Cap.xv.
Verse 1.

Chap. xvj.

Verse 10.

Verse 12.

Dan. 5. 3.

Verse 13.

Upon the Antichrist and his kingdome: which, being particularly set downe in the xvj. Chapter, he reckoneth amongst the rest. In the fifth Vial, the plague of darkenesse; yea, such darkenesse as the kingdome of Antichrist shall bee obscured: whereby at the powring forth of the sixth Vial, the way of the Kings of the East shalbe prepared; the man of Sinne being begun to be reuealed, and so all impediments remooued that might let the inuasion of that Monarchie: euen as that great riuer Euphrates that runneth by the literall Babylon, guarded it from the Kings of the East, the Medes and Persians, the time of the Babylonian Monarchie, til by the drying thereof, or vnexpected passage made through it by Cyrus, Babylon was wonne, and Baltasar destroyed, and his Monarchie ouertrowne; euen while hee was sitting in that literall Babylon, corporally drunken and quaffing in the vessels ordained for GODS Service; and so sitting as it were in the Temple of GOD, and abusing the holy Mysteries thereof.

For remedy whereof, at the powring forth of the sixth Vial, three vnclean Spirits, like frogs, shall then come forth out of the mouth of the

the Dragon, that Beast, and of the false Prophet; which I take to be as much to say, as that how soone as the kingdome of Antichrist shall be so obscured, with such a grosse and a palpable ignorance, as learning shall be almost lost out of the world, and that few of the very Priests themselves shall be able to read Latine, much lesse to vnderstand it; and so a plaine way made for the Destruction of Babylon: Then shall a new sect of Spirits arise for the defence of that falling Throne, called three in number, by reason of their three-folde direction; beeing raised and inspired by the Dragon Sathan, authorized and maintained by the Beast the Antichrist, and instructed by the false Prophet the Apostatike Church, that hath the hornes like the Lambe, but speaketh like the Dragon. These Spirits indeed, thus sent forth by this three-folde authoritie for the defence of their Triple-crowned Monarch, are well likened to Frogs; for they are Amphibions, and can liue in either Element earth or water: for though they be Churchmen by profession, yet can they vse the trade of politike Statesmen; going to the Kings of the earth, to gather them to the battell of that great

Verse 14.

day of GOD Almighty. What Massacres haue by their perswasions beene wrought through many parts of Christendome, and how euilly Kings haue sped that haue beene counselled by them, all the vnpartiall Histories of our time doe beare record. And whatsoeuer King or State will not receiue them, and follow their aduise, rooted out must that King or State be, euen with Gunpowder ere it faile. And these Frogs had reason indeed to labor to become learned, thereby to dissipate that grosse mist of ignorance, where with the reigne of Antichrist was plagued before their comming forth. Then doeth this Chapter conclude with the last plague that is poured out of the seuenth Viall vpon the Antichrist, which is the day of Iudgement: for then Babylon (saith he) came in remembrance before God.

Verse. 17.

Verse. 19.

The fourth description.

Cap. xvij.
Verse 3.

But in the xvij Chapter is the former Vision interpreted and expounded; and there is the Antichrist represented by a Woman, sitting vpon that many-headed Beast; because as CHRIST his true Spouse and Church is represented by a Woman in the xij. Chap. so here is the Head of his adulterous Spouse or false Church represented also by a woman, but hauing a cup
ful

ful of abominations in her hand; as her selfe is called a whoore for her spirituall adultery, having seduced the Kings of the earth to bee partakers of her Spirituall fornication: And yet wonderfull gorgious and glorious was shee in outward shew; but drunken with the blood of the Saints, by a violent persecution of them. And that she may the better be knownen, he writeth her name upon her forehead agreeable to her qualities: A Myſtery, that great Babylon, that mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth. A Myſtery is a name that belongeth unto her two maner of wayes: One, as she taketh it to her selfe; another, as she deserueth it indeed. To her selfe she taketh it, in calling herselfe the visible Head of the Mystical bodie of CHRIST, in professing her selfe to bee the dispenser of the Myſteries of GOD, and by her onely must they bee expounded: This great God in earth and Head of the faith, being a Myſtes by his profession; that is, a Priest. And if the obseruation of one be true, that hee had of olde the word Myſtery written on his Myter; then is this prophecie very plainely accomplished. Now, that indeede shee deserues that name
the

Verse 4.

Verse 1.

Verse 2.

Verse 6.

Verse 5.

Verse 5.

the rest of her Title doeth beare witnesse, that sheweth her to be the Mother of all the whoredomes and abominations of the earth: and so is she vnder the pretext of holinesse, a Mystery indeed of all iniquitie and abominations; vnder the marke of pretended feeding of Soules, deuouring Kingdomes, and making Christerdome swimme in blood.

Verse 9.

Now after that this scarlet or bloody Beast and her Rider are described, by their shape, garments, name and qualities: the Angel doth next interpret this vision vnto Iohn, expounding vnto him what is signified both by the Beast and her Rider; telling him, the seuen heads of the Beast are seuen Hills, meaning by the situation of that Citie or seat of Empire; and that they are also seuen Kings or formes of gouernement in the said Citie, whereof I haue told my conceit already.

Verse 12.

As for the tenne Hornes, which hee sheweth to be tenne Kings, that shall at one houre receiue their power and Kingdome with the Beast, I take that number of ten to be Numerus certus pro incerto, euen as the number of seuen heads and ten hornes vpon the Dragon the Deuill, cannot but bee an vncertaine number.

number. And that he also imitates in those ten
horns, the ten horns of the seven headed Beast
in the seventh of Daniel : and therefore I take
these ten Kings to signifie, all the Christian
Kings, and free Princes and States in generall,
even you whome to I consecrate these my Labors,
and that of vs all he prophecieth, that although
our first becomming absolute and free Princes
should bee in one houre with the Beast for great
Christian kingdomes and Monarches did but
rise, and receiue their libertie by the ruines of the
Ethnicke Romane Empire, and at the destru-
ction thereof) and at the very time of the be-
ginning of the planting of the Antichrist there;
and that wee should for a long time continue to
worship the Beast, hauing one Catholike or
common consenting minde in obeying her, yel-
ding our power and authoritie vnto her,
and kissing her feet, drinking with her in her cup
of Idolatrie, and fighting with the Lambe,
in the persecution of his Saints, at her command
that gouerneth so many Nations and people:
yet notwithstanding of all this, wee shall in the
time appointed by GOD, hauing thus fought
with the Lambe, but being ouercome by him,

Verse 13.

Verse 14

Verse 16.

(o)

that

Reuel. 16. 12.

Verse 17

Prou. 21. 1

Verse 18

Chap. xvij.

that is, conuerted by his word; wee shall then (I say) hate the Whore, and make her desolate, and make her naked, by discovering her hypocrisie and false pretence of zeale; and shall eate her flesh, and burne her with fire. And thus shal the way of the Kings of the East be prepared, as yee heard in the xvj. Chapter. And then doth hee subioyne the reason of this strange change in vs: for (saith hee) G O D hath put it in their hearts to fulfill his will, and with one consent to giue their Kingdome to the Beast, till the words of G O D be fulfilled, according to that sentence of Salomon; That the hearts of Kings are in the handes of G O D, to bee turned at his pleasure. And hauing thus interpreted the Beast or Empire; he in a word expounds, that by the Woman that rode vpon her, or Monarch that gouerned her, was meant that great Citie that raigned ouer the Kings of the earth: by the Seate of the Empire pointing out the qualitie of the persons that should sit and domine there.

Then is the greatnesse of her fall, and the great lamentation that both the Kings and merchants of the earth shall make for the same, proclaimed by

Verſe 9. 10.

Verſe 11, 15,
16, 17, 18.

8
Verſe 12, 13.

Verſe 13.

by an other Angel in the xviij. Chapter. The Kings lamenting her fall, becauſe they liued in pleaſure with her; which no Kings could doe with Ethnicke Rome, who conquered them by her ſword: for ſhee honoured them with Titles, and diſpenſed with their luſtes and Unlawfull mariages. And the Merchants of the earth, and all Shipmaſters, and traffickers vpon the Seaſhall lament the fall of that great city, which neuer had a fellow, for the loſſe of their riches and trafficke which they inioyed by her meanes. And there hee deſcribeth all ſorts of rich wares, whereof that great City was the Staple: for indeede ſhee hath a neceſſary uſe for all ſuch rich and glorious wares, as well for ornaments to her Churches and princely Prelates, as for garments and ornaments to her woodden Saints; for the bleſſed Virgin muſt be daily clothed and decked in the neweſt and moſt curious faſhion, though it ſhould reſemble the habit of a Curtizane. And of all thoſe rich wares, the moſt precious is laſt named, which is the Soules of men: for ſo much beſtowed vpon Maſſes, and ſo much doted to this or that Cloyſter of Monkes or Friers, but moſt of all now to that irregular and incomprehenſible

To all Christian Monarches,

order of Iesuites ; shall both redeeme his owne Soule, and all his Parents to the hundreth generation, from broyling in the fire of Purgatory. And (I hope) it is no small merchandise of Soules, when men are so highly deluded by the hopes and promise of Saluation, as to make a Frier murther his ^a Soueraigne ; a young knaue attempt the murther of his next ^b Successour ; many one to conspire and attempt the like against the late Queene ; and in my time, to attempt the destruction of a whole Kingdome and State by a blast of Powder : and heereby to play bankrupt with both the soules mentioned in the Scriptures, Animus & Anima.

a Henry 3.
K. of France.
b Henry 4.

Verse 4.

Verse 6

But notwithstanding of this their great Lamentation, they are commanded by a voice from beauen to doe two things: One, to flee from Babylon, least they bee partakers of her sinnes, and consequently of her punishment. Which warning I pray God that yee all, my Beloued Brethren and Cofins, would take heede vnto in time, humbly beseeching him to open your eyes for this purpose. The other commaund is, to reward her as shee hath rewarded you; yea, euē to the double. For as she did flie, but
with

with your feathers, borrowing as well her Titles of greatnes and formes of honoring her from you; as also enioying all her temporall liuing by your liberalities; so if euery man doe but take his owne againe, she will stand vp *naked; and the reason is giuen, because of her pride. For she glorifieth her selfe liuing in pleasure, and in her heart sayth, shee sitteth as a Queene (outward prosperitie being one of their notes of a true Church) and is no Widow; for her Spouse CHRIST is bound to her by an inuiolable knot (for hee hath sworn neuer to forsake her) and she shal see no mourning: for she cannot erre, nor the gates of Hell shall not preuaile against her.

* Cornicula
Aesopica.
Verse 7

But though the earth and worldly men lament thus for the fall of Babylon in this eighteenth Chapter, yet in the nineteenth Heauen and all the Angels and Saints therein doe sing a triumphall Cantique for ioy of her fall; praising God for the fall of that great Whoore: Great indeed, for our *Cardinall confesseth, that it is hard to describe what the Pope is, such is his greatnesse. And in the ende of that Chapter is the obstinacie of that Whoore described, who euen fought to the uttermost against him

Cap. xix.
Verse 1.

Verse 2.
* Bell. in Ref.
ad Gerson. con-
sid. 11.

Verse 19

Verse 20.

Cap. 18. 21

Ibidem.

Verse 22, 23

Cap. xx.

Verse 3

Verse 8

that sate on the white Horse, and his armie,
*till the Beast or Antichrist was taken, and the
 false Prophet, or false Church with him, who
 by Myracles, and lying Wonders deceived
 them that receiued the marke of the Beast;
 and both were casten quicke into the bur-
 ning lake of fire and brimstone; Vnde nulla
 redemptio. Like as in the ende of the former
 Chapter, to describe the fulnesse of the Anti-
 christes fall (not like to that reparable wound
 that Ethnicke Rome gate) it is first compared to
 a Millstone cast in the sea, that can neuer rise
 and fleete againe: And next it is expressed by a
 number of ioyfull things that shall neuer be heard
 there againe, where nothing shall inhabite but
 desolation. But that the patience and constancy
 of Saints on earth, and God his Elected may the
 better be strengthened and confirmed; their per-
 secution in the latter dayes, is shortly prophesied
 and repeated againe, after that Satan hath
 beene bound, or his furie restrained, by the
 Worlds inioying of peace for a thousand yeeres,
 or a great indefinite time; their persecutors be-
 ing named Gog and Magog, the secret and re-
 uealed enemies of CHRIST. Whether this be
 meant*

meant of the Pope and the Turke, or not; (who both began to rise to their greatnesse about one time) I leaue to be guessed; alwayes their vttter confusion is there assuredly promised: and it is said; that the Dragon, the Beast, and the false Prophet, shall all three bee cast in that lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented for euer. And thereafter is the latter day described againe (which must be hastened for the elects sake) and then for the further comfort of the Elect, and that they may the more constantly and patiently indure these temporall and finite troubles, limited but to a short space; in the last two Chapters are the ioyes of the eternall Ierusalem largely described.

Verse 9.

Verse 10.

Verse 11,
12, 13
Matth. 24 22

Chap. xxj. xxij

Thus hath the Cardinals shamelesse wresting of those two places of Scripture, Palce oues meas, and Tibi dabo claues, for proouing of the Popes supreme temporall Authoritie ouer Princes; animated me to prooue the Pope to be THE ANTICHRIST, out of this foresaid booke of Scripture; so to pay him in his owne money againe. And this opinion no Pope can euer make me to recant; except they first renounce any further meddling with Princes, in any thing belonging

ging to their temporall Iurisdiction. And my only wish shalbe, that if any man shall haue a fancie to refute this my coniecture of the Antichrist; that he answer mee orderly to euery point of my discourse: not contenting him to disproue my opinion, except hee set downe some other methode after his forme for interpretation of that booke of the Apocalyps, which may not contradict no part of the Text, nor containe no absurdities. Otherwise, it is an easie thing for Momus to picke quarrels in another mans tale, and tell it worse himselfe; it being a more easie practise to finde faults, then to amend them.

Having now made this digression anent the Antichrist, which I am sure I can better fasten vpon the Pope, then Bellarmine can doe his pretended temporall Superioritie ouer Kings: I will returne againe to speake of this Answerer; who (as I haue alreadie told you) so fitteth his matter with his maner of answering, that as his Style is nothing but a Satyre, and heape full of iniurious and reprochfull speeches, as well against my Person, as my Booke; so is his matter as full of lyes and falsities indeed, as he vniustly layeth to my charge. For three lyes hee maketh
against

against the Oath of Allegiance, contained and maintained in my Booke: besides that ordinary repeated lye against my Book; of his omitting to answer my lyes, trattles, iniurious speeches and blasphemies. One grosse lye hee maketh euen of the Popes first Breue. One lye of the Puritanes, whom he would gladly haue to bee of his partie. And one also of the Powder-Traitors, anent the occasion that moued them to undertake that treasonable practise. Three lies he makes of that Acte of Parliament wherein this Oath of Allegiance is contained. He also maketh one notable lye against his owne Catholike Writers. And two, of the causes for which two Iesuites haue bene put to death in England. And hee either falsifies, denies or wrests fine sundry Histories and a printed Pamphlet: besides that impudent lye that he maketh of my Person; that I was a Puritane in Scotland, which I haue alreadie refused. And for the better filling up of his booke with such good stuffe; he hath also fine so strange and new principles of Diuinitie therein, as they are either new, or at least allowed by very few of his owne Religion. All which lyes, with diuers others, and fine strange, and (as I

To all Christian Monarches,

*thinke) erroneous points of Doctrine, with sin
dry falsifications of Hystories ; are set downe in
a Table by themselves in the end of this my E-
pistle, hauing their Refutation annexed to euery
one of them.*

*But as for the particular answering of his
booke; it is both vnnecessarie and vncomely for
me to make a Reply. Vnnecessarie, because (as I
haue alreadie told you) my Booke is neuer yet an-
swered so farre as belongeth to the maine questi-
on anent the Oath of Allegiance: the picking of
aduantage vpon the wrong placing of the fi-
gures in the citations, or such errors in the Print
by casuall addition, or omission of words that
make nothing to the Argument; being the grea-
test weapons wherewith hee assaults my Booke.
And vncomely it must needs be (in my opinion)
for a King to fall in altercation with a Cardi-
nall, at least with one no more nobly descend
then he is: That Ecclesiasticall dignitie, though
by the sloath of Princes (as I said before) it bee
now come to that height of vsurped honour, yet
being in the true originall and foundation there-
of nothing else, but the title of the Priestles and
Deacons of the parish Churches in the towne of
Rome;*

Rome; at the first, the style of Cardinals beeing generally giuen to all Priests and Deacons of any Cathedrall Church, though the multitude of such Cardinall Priests and Deacons resorting to Rome, was the cause that after bred the restraining of that title of Cardinall Priests and Deacons, onely to the Parish priests and Deacons of Rome. And since that it is S. Gregorie, who in his Epistles fixe hundreth yeares after CHRIST, maketh the first mention of Cardinals (and so these now Electours of the Apostolike Sea, beeing long and many hundreth yeers vnknown or vneheard of, after the Apostolike age; and yet doth he speake of th^m but in this sense, as I haue now described) I hope the Cardinall, who calleth him the Apostle of England, cannot blame me that am King thereof, to acknowledge the Cardinall in no other degree of honour, then our said Apostle did. But how they should now become to be so strangely exalted about their first originall institution, that from Parish-priests and Deacons (Priests inferior) they should now come to be Princes and Peeres to Kings: and from a degree vnder Bishops (as both ^a Bellarmine and ^b Onuphrius

(p 2)

con=

^a Lib. de Clericis, cap. 16.

^b Lib. de Episcopopatibus, Titulis & Diaconijs Cardinalium.

To all Christian Monarches,

*confesse (to be now the Popes sole Electors, sub-
 plying with him the place of a General Councel;
 whereby the conuening of generall Councels
 is now vtterly antiquated and abolished; nay,
 out of their number onely, the Pope to be ele-
 cted; who claimeth the absolute Superiority ouer
 all Kings: how this their strange vsurped exal-
 tation (I say) should thus creepe in and be suffe-
 red, it belongeth all them in our place and calling
 to look vnto it; who being GOD his Lieutenants
 in earth, haue good reason to be ieaious of such
 vpsstart Princes, meane in their originall, come
 to that height by their owne creation, and now
 accounting themselues Kings fellows. But the
 speciall harme they do vs, is by their defrauding
 vs of our common & Christian interest in gene-
 rall Councels; they hauing (as I sayd) vtter-
 ly abolished the same, by rowling it vp and ma-
 king as it were a Monopoly thereof, in their
 Conclauie with the Pope. Whereas, if euer there
 were a possibilitie to bee expected of reducing all
 Christians to an vniformitie of Religion, it must
 come by the meanes of a generall Councell: the
 place of their meeting beeing chosen so indifferēt,
 as all Christian Princes, either in their owne
 Persons,*

Persons, or their Deputie Commissioners, and all Church men of Christian profession that beleeue and professe all the ancient grounds of the true, ancient, Catholike and Apostolike Faith, might haue tutum accessum thereunto; All the incendiaries and Nouelist fire-brands on either side beeing debarred from the same, as well Iesuites as Puritanes.

And therefore hauing resolved not to paine my selfe with making a Reply for these reasons here specified, grounded as well vpon the consideration of the matter, as of the person of the Answerer; I haue thought good to content my selfe with the reprinting of my Apologie: hauing in a maner corrected nothing but the Copiers or Printers faults therein, and prefixed this my Epistle of Dedication and Warning therunto; that I may yet see, if any thing will be iustly said against it: Not doubting but enow of my Subiects will reply vpon these Libellers, and answer them sufficiently; wishing Y^{ou} deeply to consider, and weigh your common interest in this Cause. For neither in all my Apologie, nor in his pretended Refutation thereof, is there any question made anent the Popes power ouer mee

in particular, for the excommunicating or deposing of me. For in my particular; the Cardinall doeth me that grace, that he saith, The Pope thought it not expedient at this time to excommunicate me by name; our question beeing onely generall, Whether the Pope may lawefully pretend any temporall power ouer Kings, or no?

That no Church men can by his rule be subiect to any temporall Prince, I haue already shewed you; And what obedience any of you may looke for of any of them de facto, he plainly forewarneth you of, by the example of Gregorie the Great his obedience to the Emperour Mauritius: not beeing ashamed to slander that great Personages Christian humilitie and obedience to the Emperour, with the title of a constrained and forced obedience, because hee might, or durst doe no otherwise. Whereby he not onely wrongs the said Gregorie in particular, but euen doeth by that meanes lay on an heauie slander and reproach vpon the Christian humilitie and patience of the whole Primitive Church, especially in the time of persecution: if the whole glorie of their Martyrdom and Christian patience shall be thus blotted with that vile glosse of their coacted

coacted and constrained suffering, because they could or durst do no otherwise; like the patience and obedience of the Jewes or Turkish slaves in our time, cleane contrary to S. Paul and S. Peters doctrine of obedience for conscience sake; and as contrarie to Tertullians Apologie for Christians, and all the protestations of the ancient Fathers in that case. But it was good lucke for the ancient Christians in the dayes of Ethnick Emperors, that this prophane & new conceit was yet unknown among them: otherwise they would haue bin utterly destroyed and rooted out in that time, and no man to haue pitied them, as most dangerous members in a Common wealth, who would no longer bee obedient, then till they were furnished with sufficient abilitie and power to resist and rebell.

Thus may ye see, how upon the one part our Cardinall will haue all Kings and Monarchs to be the Popes Vassals; and yet will not on the other side, allow the meaneest of the Pope his Vassals, to be subiect to any Christian Prince. But he not thinking it enough to make the Pope our Superior, hath in a late Treatise of his (called the Recognition of his bookes of Controversies)

Rom. 13. 5.
1. Pet. 2. 13.

lies) made the people and Subiects of euery one of vs, our Superiors. For hauing taken occasion to reuise againe his bookes of Controuersies, and to correct or explaine what he findeth amisse or mistaketh in them; in imitation of S. Augustine his retraction (for so hee saith in his Preface) he doth in place of retracting any of his former errors, or any matter of substance; not retract, but recant indeed, I meane sing ouer againe, and obstinately confirme a number of the grossest of them. Among the which, the exempting of all Church-men from subiection to any Temporall Prince, and the setting vp not onely of the Pope, but euen of the People about their naturall King; are two of his maine points.

Actes 25. 10.

Actes 22. 28.

As for the exemption of the Clerickes; he is so greedy there to proue that point, as he denieth Cæsar to haue beene Pauls lawfull Iudge: contrary to the expresse Text, and Pauls plain Appellation, and acknowledging him his Iudge; besides his many times claiming to the Roman priuiledges, and auowing himselfe a Roman by freedome; and therefore of necessitie a Subiect to the Roman Emperour. But it is a wonder that these Roman Catholikes, who vaunt themselves

selues of the ancientie both of their doctrine and Church, and reproch vs so bitterly of our Nouelties, should not bee ashamed to make such a new inept glosse as this vpon S. Pauls Text; which as it is directly contrary to the Apostles wordes, so is it without any warrant, either of any ancient Councell, or of so much as any one particular Father that euer interprets that place in this sort: Neither was it euer doubted by any Christian in the Primitiue Church, that the Apostles, or any other degree of Christians, were subiect to the Emperour.

And as for the setting vpon of the People aboue their owne naturall King, hee bringeth in that principle of Sedition, that he may thereby proue, that Kings haue not their power and authoritie immediatly from God, as the Pope bath his: For euery King (saith he) is made and chosen by his people; nay, they do but so transferre their power in the Kings person, as they doe notwithstanding retaine their habituall power in their owne hands, which vpon certaine occasions they may actually take to themselues againe. This, I am sure, is an excellent ground in Diuinitie for all Rebels and rebellious people, who are hereby al-

lowed to rebell against their Princes; and assume libertie vnto themselues, when in their discretions they shall thinke it conuenient.

And amongst his other Testimonies for probation, that all Kings are made and created by the People; hee alledgeth the Creation of three Kings in the Scripture, Saul, Dauid & Ieroboam; and though he be compelled by the expresse words of the Text, to confesse, that God by his Prophet Samuel anointed both ^a Saul and ^b Dauid; yet will he, by the post-consent of the people, proue that those Kings were not immediatly made by God, but mediatly by the people; though he repeat thrise that word of Lott, by the casting whereof hee confesseth that Saul was chosen. And if the Election by Lott be not an immediate Election from God; then was not Matthias, who was so chosen and made an Apostle, immediatly chosen by God: and consequently, hee that sitteth in the Apostolike Sea cannot for sham claim to be immediatly chosen by God, if Matthias (that was one of the twelue Apostles, supplying Iudas his place) was not so chosen. But as it were a blasphemous impietie, to doubt that Matthias was immediatly chosen by God, and yet was he

^a 1. Sam. 10. 1
^b 1. Sam. 16.
12. 13.

Actes 1.

bee chosen by the casting of Lots, as Saul was: so is it well enough known to some of you (my louing Brethren) by what holy Spirit or casting of Lots the Popes vse to bee elected; the Colledge of Cardinals, his electors, hauing beene diuided in two mighty factions euer since long before my time; and in place of casting of Lotts, great sat pensions beeing cast into some of their greedy mouthes for the election of the Pope, according to the partiall humours of Princes. But I doe most of all wonder at the weaknesse of his memorie: for in this place hee maketh the post consent of the people to bee the thing that made both these Kings, notwithstanding of their preceding inauguration and anoyntment by the Prophet at GODS commandement; forgetting that in the beginning of this same little booke of his, answering one that alledgeth a sentence of S. Cyprian, to prooue that the Bishops were iudged by the people in Cyprians time, hee there confesseth, that by these words, the consent of the people to the Bishops election must be onely vnderstood. Nor will he there any wayes be mouued to graunt, that the peoples power, in consenting to or refusing the Election of a Bishop;

(q 2) should

To all Christian Monarches,

Cyprian, lib. 1.
Epist. 4.

should be so understood, as that thereby they haue power to elect Bishops: And yet do these words of Cyprian seeme to be farre stronger for granting the peoples power to elect Church-men, then any words that hee alledgeth out of the Scripture are for the peoples power in electing a King. For the very words of Cyprian by himselfe there cited are, That the very people haue principally the power, either to chuse such Priests as are worthy, or to refuse such as are vnworthy: And, I hope, he can neuer proue by the Scripture, that it had been lawfull to the people of Israel, or that it was left in their choise, to haue admitted or refused Saul or Dauid at their pleasure, after that the Prophet had anointed them, and presented them vnto them.

1. King. 12. 20.

Thus ye see how little he careth (euen in so little a volume) to contradict himselfe, so it may make for his purpose; making the consent of the people to signifie their power of Election in the making of Kings, though in the making of Bishops, by the peoples consent, their approbation of a deede done by others must onely bee understood. And as for his example of Ieroboams election to be King, hee knoweth well enough, that

that Ieroboam was made King in a popular mutinous tumult and rebellion; onely permitted by God, and that in his wrath, both against these two Kings and their people. But if he will needs helpe himselfe against all rules of Diuinity, with such an extraordinary example for prooffe of a generall Rule; why is it not as lawfull for vs Kings to oppose hereunto the example of Iehu his Inauguration to the Kingdome; who vpon the Prophets priuat anointment of him, and that in most secret maner, tooke presently the Kings office vpon him, without euer crauing any sort of approbation from the people?

2. King 9. 2.

And thus may ye now clearely see, how deepe the claime of the Babylonian Monarch toucheth vs in all our common interest: for (as I haue already tolde) the Pope, nor any of his Vassals, I meane Church-men, must be subiect to no Kings nor Princes: and yet all Kings and their Vassals must not onely be subiect to the Pope, but euen to their own people. And now, what a large liberty is by this doctrine left to Churchmen, to hatch or foster any treasonable attempts against Princes, I leaue it to your considerations, since doe what they will, they are accountable to none of vs:

Isai 5. 20.

Verse 23.

may, all their treasonable practises must bee accounted workes of pietie, and they (being iustly punished for the same) must be presently inrolled in the list of Martyrs and Saints; like as our new printed Martyrologie hath put Garnet and Ouldcorne in the Register of English Martyrs abroad, that were hanged at home for Treason ag ainst the Crown and whole State of England: so as I may iustly with Isaiahs, pronounce a Woe to them that speake good of euill, and euill of good; which put light for darkenesse, and darkenesse for light; which iustifie the wicked for a reward, & take away the righteousnes of the righteous from him. For euen as in the time of the greatest blindnesse in Popery, though a man should find his wife or his daughter lying a bed in her Confessors armes; yet was it not lawfull for him so much as to suspect that the Frier abadny errand there, but to Confesse and instruct her: Euen so, though Iesuites practising in Treason bee sufficiently verified, and that themselues cannot but confesse it; yet must they bee accounted to suffer Martyrdome for the Faith, and their blood work miracles, and frame a stramineum argumentum vpon strawes;
when

When their heads are standing aloft, withered by the Sunne and the winde, a publike spectacle for the eternall commemoration of their treacherie. Yea, one of the reasons, that is giuen in the Printers Epistle of the Colonian edition of the Cardinal or his Chaplains pamphlet, why he doth the more willingly print it, is; because that the innocencie of that most holy and constant man Henry Garnet, is declared and set forth in that booke, against whom, some (he knew not who) had scattered a false rumour of his guiltinesse of the English treason.

But, Lord, what an impudencie or wilfull ignorance is this, that he, who was so publickely and solemnly conuicted and executed, upon his own so cleare, vnforced and often repeated confession, of his knowledge and concealing of that horrible Treason, should now be said to haue a certaine rumor spread vpon him of his guiltinesse, by I know not who? with so many attributes of godlinesse, constancie and innocencie bestowed vpon him, as if publicke Sentences and Executions of Iustice, were rumors of I know not who. Indeed, I must confesse, the booke it selfe sheweth a great affection to performe, what is thus promised

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*mis*ed in the Preface thereof: for in two or three
 places therein, is there most honorable lying men-
 tion made of that straw Saint; wherein, though
 he confesse that Garnet was vpon the foreknow-
 ledge of the Powder-Treason, yet in regarde it
 was (as he saith) only vnder the Seale of Confes-
 sion, he sticketh not to praise him for his concea-
 ling thereof, and would gladly giue him the
 crowne of glory for the same: not being ashamed
 to proclaime it as a principal head of Catholique
 doctrine; That the secret of Sacramental con-
 fession ought not to be reuealed, not for the
 eschewing of whatsoeuer euil. But how dam-
 nable this doctrine is, and how dangerously pre-
 iudiciall to all Princes & States; I leaue it to you
 to iudge, whom all it most highly concerneth.
 For although it be true, that when the School-
 men came to be Doctors in the Church, and to
 marre the old grounds in Diuinitie by sowing in
 amongst them their Philosophicall distinctions:
 though they (I say) do maintain, That wha so-
 euer thing is told a Confessor vnder the vaile of
 confession, how dangerous soeuer the matter bee,
 yet he is bound to conceale the parties name: yet
 doe none of them; I meane of the olde Schoole-
 men,

men, deny, that if a matter bee reuealed vnto them, the concealing whereof may breed a great or publike danger; but that in that case the Confessor may disclose the matter, though not the person, and by some indirect means make it come to light, that the danger thereof may bee preuented. But that no treason nor diuelish plot, though it should tend to the ruine or exterminion of a whole Kingdome, must be reuealed, if it bee told vnder Confession; no not the matter so far indirectly disclosed, as may giue occasion for preuenting the danger thereof: though it agree with the conceit of some three or foure new Iesuited Doctors, it is such a new and dangerous head of doctrine, as no King nor State can liue in securitie where that Position is maintained.

And now, that I may as well prooue him a liar in fact, in his narration of this particular History; as I haue shewed him to be in iure, by this his damnable and false ground in Diuinity: I wil truly informe you of Garnets case, which is far otherwise then this Answerer alleageth. For first, it can neuer bee accounted a thing vnder Confession, which he that reueals it doth not discover with a remorse, accounting it a sin where-

of he repenteth him; but by the contrary, discovers it as a good motion, and is therein not dissuaded by his Confessor, nor any penance enjoyed him for the same: and in this forme was this Treason reuealed to Garnet, as himselfe confessed. And next, though he stood long vpon it, that it was reuealed vnto him vnder the Vaile of Confession, in respect it was done in that time, while as the partie was making his Confession vnto him; Yet at the last he did freely confesse, that the party reuealed it vnto him as they were walking, and not in the time of Confession: But (hee said) hee deliuered it vnto him vnder the greatest Seale that might be, and so he tooke that he meant by the Seale of Confession; And it had (as he thought) a relation to Confession, in regard that he was that parties Confessor, & had taken his Confession sometimes before, and was to take it againe within few dayes thereafter. He also said, that he pretended to the partie, that he would not conceale it from his Superior. And further it is to be noted, that hee confessed, that two diuers persons conferred with him anent this Treason; and that when the one of them, which was Catesby, conferred with him thereupon,

upon, it was in the other parties presence and hearing: and what a Confession can this be in the hearing of a third person? And how far his last wordes (whereof our Answerer so much vaunts him) did disproue it to haue been under Confession, the Earle of Northhamptons Booke doth beare witnesse.

Now as to the other parties name, that reuealed the Powder-Treason vnto him, it was Greenwell the Iesuite, and so a Iesuite reuealed to a Iesuite this treasonable plot, the Iesuite reuealer not shewing any remorse, and the Iesuit whome to it was reuealed not so much as inioyning him any penance for the same. And that ye may knowe that more Iesuites were also vpon the partie, Owldcorne the other Powder-Martyr, after the misgiuing and discoverie of that Treason, preached consolatorie doctrine to his Catholike auditory; exhorting them not to faint for the misgiuing of this enterprise, nor to thinke the worse thereof that it succeeded not; alleadging diuers Presidents of such godly enterprises that misgaue in like manner: especially, one of Saint Lewis King of France, who in his second journey to the Holy land, died by the way, the

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greatest part of his army being destroyed by the plague; his first iourney hauing likewise misgiuen him by the Soldans taking of him: exhorting them thereupon not to giue ouer, but still to hope that God would blesse their enterprise at some other time, though this did faile.

Thus see ye now with what boldnes and impudencie he hath belied the publikely known veritie in this errand, both in auowing generally that no Iesuite was any waies guilty of that treason, for so he affirmeth in his Booke; and also that Garnet knewe nothing thereof, but vnder the Seale of Confession. But if this were the first lie of the affaires of this State, which my fugitive Priestes and Iesuities haue coined and spread abroad, I could charme them of it, as the prouerbe is. But as well the walles of diuers Monasteries and Iesuities Colleges abroad, are filled with the painting of such lying Histories, as also the bookes of our said fugitives are farced with such sort of shamelesse stuffe; such are the innumerable sorts of torments and cruell deathes, that they record their Martyrs to haue suffered here; some torne at foure Horses; some sowed in Beares skinnes, and then killed with Dogges:

may,

may, women haue not bene spared (they say) and a thousand other strange fictions, the Vanities of all which I will in two words discouer vnto you.

First as for the cause of their punishment, I doe constantly maintaine that which I haue said in my Apology: That no man, either in my time, or in the late Queenes, euer died here for his conscience. For let him be neuer so deuout a Papist, nay, though hee professe the same neuer so constantly, his life is in no danger by the Law, if hee breake not out into some outward acte expressly against the words of the Law, or plot not some unlawfull or dangerous practise or attempt; Priests and Popish Church-men onely excepted, that receiue orders beyond the seas; who for the manifold treasonable practises that they haue kindled & plotted in this countrey, are discharged to come home againe vnder paine of treason, after their receiuing of the saide Orders abroad; and yet, without some other guilt in them then their bare home-comming, haue none of the bin euer put to death. And next, for the cruell torments & strange sorts of death that they say so many of them haue bin put vnto; if there were

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no more but the Lawe and continually obserued customs of England, these many hundred yeeres, in all criminall matters, it will sufficiently serue to refute all these monstrous lies: for no tortures are euer vsed here, but the Manicles or the Racke, and these neuer but in cases of high Treason; and all sorts of Traitours die but one manner of death here, whether they bee Papist or Protestant traitours; Queene Maries time only excepted. For then indeede no sorts of cruell deaths were spared vnexecuted vpon men, women and children professing our Religion: yea, euen against the lawes of God and Nature, women with childe were put to cruell death for their profession; and a liuing childe falling out of the mothers belly, was throwen in the same fire againe that consumed the mother. But these tyrannous persecutions were done by the Bishops of that time, vnder the warrant of the Popes authoritie, and therefore were not subiect to that constant order and formes of execution, which as they are heere establisshed by our Lawes and customes, so are they accordingly obserued in the punishment of all criminals. For all Priests and Popish Traitours heere receiue their iudge-

Judgement in the temporall Courts, and so doe neuer exceed those formes of execution which are prescribed by the Law, or approued by continuall custome. One thing is also to be marked in this case; that strangers are neuer called in question here for their Religion, which is far otherwise (I hope) in any place where the Inquisition domines.

But hauing now too much wearied you with this long discourse, whereby I haue made you plainly see, that the wrong done vnto me in particular; first by the Popes Breues, and then by these Libellers, doth as deeply interest you all in generall, that are Kings, free Princes, or States, as it doth mee in particular: I will now conclude, with my humble prayers to God, that he will waken vs vp all out of that Lethargike slumber of Securitie, wherein our Predecessors and we haue lien so long; and that wee may first grauely consider, what wee are bound in conscience to doe for the planting and spreading of the true worship of God, according to his reucaled will, in all our Dominions; therein hearing the voice of our onely Pastor (for his Sheepe will know his voyce, as himselfe saith) and not following

John 10.27.

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following the vaine, corrupt & changeable traditions of men. And next that wee may prouidently looke to the securitie of our owne States, and not suffer this incroching Babylonian Monarch to winne still ground vpon vs. And if God hath so mercifully dealt with vs, that are his Lieutenants vpon earth, as that he hath ioy-
ned his cause with our interest, the spirituall libertie of the Gospel with our temporall freedom: with what zeale and courage may wee then imbrace this worke: for our labours herein being assured, to receiue at the last the eternall and inestimable reward of felicitie in the kingdom of Heauen; and in the meane time to procure vnto our selues a temporall securitie, in our temporall Kingdomes in this world.

As for so many of you as are already perswaded of that Truth which I professe, though differing among your selues in some particular points; I think little perswasion should moue you to this holy and wise Resolution: Our Greatnes, nor our number, praised bee God, being not so contemptible, but that we may shew good example to our neighbors; since almost the halfe of all Christian people and of all sorts and degrees, are
of

of our profession; I meane, all gone out of Babylon, euen from Kings and free Princes, to the meanest sort of people. But aboue all (my louing Brethren and Colins) keepe fast the vnyty of Faith amongst your selues; Reiect^a questions of Genealogies and^b Aniles fabulas, as Paul saith; Let not the foolish beate of your Preachers for idle Controuersies or indifferent things, teare asunder that mysticall Body, whereof yee are a part, since the very coat of him whose members wee are was without a seame: And let not our diuision breed a slander of our faith, and be a word of reproch in the mouthes of our aduersaries, who make Vnitie to be one of the speciall notes of the true Church.

And as for you (my louing Brethren and Colins) whome it hat h not yet pleased GOD to illuminate with the light of trueth; I can but humbly pray with Elizeus, that it would please GOD to open your eyes, that yee might see what innumerable and inuincible armies of Angels are euer prepared and ready to defend the truth of GOD: and with S. Paul I wish, that ye were as I am in this case; especially that yee would search the Scriptures, and ground your Faith vpon your

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owne

a 1. Tim. 1.4.

b Ibid. c. 4. 7.

Actes 26. 29.

Abac. 3. 4.

owne certaine knowledge, and not upon the report of others; since euery Man must be safe by his owne faith. But, leauing this to GOD his mercifull prouidence in his due time, I haue good reason to remember you, to maintaine the ancient liberties of your Crownes and Common-wealthes, not suffering any vnder GOD to set himselfe vp aboue you; and therein to imitate your owne noble predecessors, who (euen in the dayes of greatest blindnes) did diuers times courageously oppose themselves to the incroaching ambition of Popes. Yea, some of your Kingdomes haue in all ages maintained, and without any interruption enioyed your libertie, against the most ambitious Popes. And some haue of very late had an euident prooffe of the Popes ambitious aspiring ouer your tempora'll power; wherein ye haue constantly maintained and defended your lawfull freedom, to your immortall honour. And therefore I heartily wish you all, to doe in this case the office of godly and iust Kings and earthly Iudges: which consisteth not onely in not wronging or inuading the liberties of any other person (for to that will I neuer presse to perswade you) but also in defending and maintaining

taining these lawfull liberties wherewith GOD
hath indued you. For ye, whom GOD hath or-
dained to protect your people from iniuries,
should bee ashamed to suffer your selues to bee
wronged by any. And thus, assuring my selfe, that
ye will with a setled iudgement free of preiudice,
weigh the reasons of this my Discourse, and ac-
cept my plainnesse in good part, gracing this my
Apologie with your fauours, and yet no longer
then till it shall be iustly and worthily refuted; I
end, with my earnest prayers to the Almighty
for your prosperities, and that after your
happy temporall Raignes in earth, yee
may liue and raigne in Heauen
with him for euer.



A CATALOGVE OF
the Lyes of *Tortus*, together
with a brieve Confutation of them.

Tortus. Edit. Politan. pag. 9.

1



N the oath of Allegiance the Popes power to excommunicate euen Hereticall Kings, is expresly denied.

Confutation.

The point touching the Popes power in excommunicating Kings, is neither treated of, nor defined in the Oath of Allegiance, but was purposely declined. See the wordes of the Oath, and the Præmonition, pag. 9.

Tortus. p. 10.

2 For all Catholike writers doe collect from the words of Christ, *Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall bee loosed in heauen*, that there appertaineth to the Popes authoritie, not only a power to absolue from sinnes, but also from penalties, censures, lawes, vowes and oathes,

Confutation.

That all Roman-catholike writers do not concurre with this Libeller, in thus collecting from Christs words, Mat. 16. To omit other reasons, it may appeare by this that many of them do write. That what Christ promised there, that he did actually exhibite to his disciples Iohn 20. when he said, whose sinnes yee remit, they shall be remitted, thereby restraining this power of loosing formerly promised, vnto loosing from sinnes, not mentioning any absolution from lawes, vowes and oathes in this place. So doe Theophylact, Anselme, Hugo Cardin. & Ferus in Mat. 16. So doe the principall Schoolemen. Alexand. Hales in Summa. part 4. q. 79. memb. 5. & 6. art. 3. Thom. in 4. dist. 24. q. 3. art. 2. Scotus in 4. dist. 19. art. 1.

Pope

Tortus Lyes confuted.

Pope Hadrian. 6. in 4. dist. q. 2. de clauib. pag. 302. edit. Parisien. an. 1530. who also alledgeth for this interpretation, Augustine and the interlinear Glosse.

Tortus. p. 18

3 I abhorre all Parricide, I detest all conspiracies: yet it cannot be denied but occasions of despaire were giuen[to the Powder-plotters.]

Confutation.

That it was not any iust occasion of despaire giuen to the powder-Traitours, as this Libeller would beare vs in hand, but the instructions which they had from the Iesuites, that caused them to attempt this bloody designe: See the Præmonition, pag. 127. and the booke intituled, The proceedings against the late Traitors.

Tortus. p. 26.

4 For not only the Catholiques, but also the Caluinist-puritanes detest the taking of this Oath.

Confutation.

The Puritanes doe not decline the Oath of Supremacie, but daily doe take it, neither euer refused it. And the same Supremacie is defended by Caluin himselfe, Instit. lib. 4. cap. 20.

Tortus. p. 28.

5 First of all the Pope writeth not, that he was grieved at the calamities which the Catholiks did suffer for the keeping of the Orthodox faith in the time of the late Queene, or in the beginning of King James his reigne in England, but for the calamities which they suffer at this present time.

Confutation.

The onely recital of the words of the Breue wil sufficiently confute this lye. For thus writeth the Pope. The tribulations and calamities which ye haue continually sustained for the keeping of the Catholique faith, haue alway afflicted vs with great griefe of minde. But forasmuch as we vnderstand, that at this time all things are more grievous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increased.

(f 3)

Tortus.

Tortus Lyes confuted.

Tortus. p.28.

6 In the first article [of the Statute] the Lawes of Queene Elizabeth are confirmed.

Confutation.

There is no mention at all made of confirming the Lawes of Elizabeth, in the first article of that Statute.

Tortus. p.29.

7 In the 10. article [of the sayd Statute] it is added, that if the [Catholikes] refuse the third time to take the Oath being tendered vnto them, they shall incurre the danger of loosing their liues.

Confutation.

There is no mention in this whole Statute either of offering the oath the third time, or any endangering of their liues.

Tortus. p.30.

8 In the 12. article, it is enacted, that whosoever goeth out of the land to serue in the warres vnder forreine Princes, they shall first of all take this Oath, or else be accounted for Traytors.

Confutation.

It is no where said in that Statute, that they which shall thus serue in the warres vnder forreine Princes, before they haue taken this Oath, shall be accounted for Traitors, but only for felons.

Tortus. p.35.

9 We haue already declared, that the [Popes] Apostolike power in binding and loosing is denied in that Oath [of Allegiance.]

Confutation.

There is no assertory sentence in that Oath, nor any word but onely conditionall, touching the power of the Pope in binding and loosing.

Tortus. p.37.

10 The Popes themselues, euen wil they, nill they, were constrained to subiect themselues to Nero and Diocletian.

Confutation.

Tortus Lyes confuted.

Confutation.

That Christians without exception, not upon constraint but willingly and for conscience sake, did subiect themselves to the Ethnick Emperours, it may appeare by our Apologie, p. 23, 24. and the Apologetickes of the ancient Fathers.

Tortus. p. 47.

11 In which words [of the *Breues of Clement* the 8.] not onely *Iames King* of Scotland, was not excluded, but included rather.

Confutation.

If the Breues [of Clement] did not exclude mee from the Kingdome, but rather did include me, why did Garnet burne them? why would he not reserue them that I might haue seene them, that so he might haue obtained more fauour at mine hands, for him and his [Catholickes]?

Tortus. p. 60.

12 Of those 14. articles [contained in the Oath of Allegiance] eleuen of them concerne the Primacie of the Pope in matters spirituall.

Confutation.

No one article of that Oath doeth meddle with the Primacie of the Pope in matters spirituall: for to what end should that haue bene, since we haue an expresse Oath els-where against the Popes Primacie in matters spirituall?

Tortus. p. 64.

13 Amongst other calumnies this is mentioned, that *Bellarmino* was priuie to sundry conspiracies against *Q. Elizabeth*, if not the authour.

Confutation.

It is no where said [in the Apologie] that Bellarmine was either the Authour, or priuie to any conspiracies against Queene Elizabeth; but that he was their principall instructor and teacher, who corrupted their iudgement with such dangerous positions & principles, that it was an easie matter to reduce the generals into particulars,

Tortus Lyes confuted.

culars, and to apply the dictates which hee gave out of his Chaire, as opportunity served, to their severall designs.

Tortus. p.64.

14 For hee [Bellarmine] knoweth, that Campian onely conspired against Hereticall impiety.

Confutation.

That the true and proper cause of Campians execution, was not for his conspiring against hereticall impiety, but for conspiring against *Queene Elizabeth*, and the State of this Kingdome, it was most evident by the iudiciall proceedings against him.

Tortus. p.65.

15 Why was *H. Garnet*, a man incomparable for learning in all kindes, and holinesse of life, put to death, but because hee would not reveale that which he could not doe with a safe conscience?

Confutation.

That Garnet came to the knowledge of this horrible plot not only in confession, as this Libeller would have it, but by other meanes, neither by the relation of one alone, but by diners, so as hee might with safe conscience have disclosed it; See the Premonition, p. 125, 126, &c. and the Earle of Northhamptons Booke.

Tortus. p.71.

16 Pope *Sixtus 5.* neither commaunded the French King to be murdered, neither approoved that fact, as it was done by a priuate person.

Confutation.

The falselhood of this doeth easily appeare by the Oration of *Sixtus. 5.*

Tortus. p.91.

17 That which is added concerning *Stanley* his Treason, is neither faithfully nor truly related: for the Apologer (as his maner is) doth miserably depraue it, by adding many lyes.

Confutation.

That which the Apologie relateth concerning *Stanley* his Treason, is word for word recited out of *Cardinall Allens Apologie*

Tortus Lyes confuted.

gie for Stanley's treason, as it is to be seene there.

Tortus. p.93.

18 It is very certaine that H. Garnet at his arraignment, did alwayes constantly auouch, that neither hee nor any Iesuiste either were authors, or compartners, or aduisers, or consenting any way [to the powder-Treason.] *And a little after.* The same thing he protested at his death in a large speech, in the presence of innumerable people.

Confutation.

The booke of the proceedings against the late Traytors, and our Premonition, pag. 125, 126, &c. doe clearly prooue the contrary of this to be true.

Tortus. p.97.

19 King James since hee is no Catholike, neither is hee a Christian.

Confutation.

Contrary: I am a true Catholike, a professour of the truly ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike faith: and therefore am a true Christian. See the confession of my faith in the Premonition. pag. 35, 36, &c.

Tortus. p.98.

20 And if the reports of them, which knewe him most inwardly, betrew, When he was in Scotland, he was a Puritane, and an Enemie to Protestants: Now in England hee professeth himselfe a Protestant, and an Enemie to the Puritans.

Confutation.

Contrary; and what a Puritane I was in Scotland: See my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΡΟΝ: and this my Premonition. p.44, 45.

(c)

His

Tortus Lyes confuted.

¶ His falsifications in his alledging of Histories,
together with a briefe declaration of their
falshood.

The words of Tortus. p. 70.

IT was certaine that hee [*Henry 4. the Emperour*] died a
naturall death.

Confutation.

It was not certaine: since sundry Historians write otherwise that he dyed upon his imprisonment by his sonne Henry 5. either with the noysomenesse and loathsomenesse of the prison, or being pined to death by hunger. Read Fasciculus temporum at the yeere 1094. Laziardus epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c. 198. Paulus Langius in Chronico Citizenſi at the yeere 1105. and Iacobus Wimphe- lingus epitome Rerum Germanic. c. 28.

Tortus. p. 83.

2 *Henry 4. the Emperour feared indeed, but not any corporall death, but the censure of Excommunication, from the which that he might procure absolution, of his owne accord, he did thus demissely humble himselfe [before Gregory 7.]*

Confutation.

That Henry 4. thus deieted himselfe before the Pope, it was neither of his owne accord; neither upon any feare of the Popes Excommunication, which [in this particular] he esteemed of no force: but upon feare of the losse of his kingdome and life, as the recordes of antiquitie doe evidently testifie. See Lambertus Schafnaburg. at the yeere 1077. Abbas Vrspergen. at the yeere 1075. The author of the life of Henry. 4. Bruno. in his Historie of the Saxon warre. Laziard. in epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c. 193. Cuspian. in Henric. 4. Sigonius de Regno Italiz lib. 9.

Tortus. p. 83.

3 *The truth of the History [of Alexander 9. treading upon the necke of Fredericke Barbarossa with his foote] may be iustly doubted of.*

Confutation.

Tortus Lyes confuted,

Confutation.

But no Historian doubteth of it; and many doe auouch it, as Hieronym. Bard. in victor. Nauar. ex Bessarion, Chronico apud Baro. ad ann. 1177. num. 5. Gerson de potestate Ecclesiæ confid. 11. Iacob Bergom. in supplem. Chron. ad an. 1160. Nauclerus Gener. 40. Petrus Iustinian li. 2. Rerum Venetar. Papirius Masson. lib. 5. de Episcop. vrbis, who also alledgeth for this Gennadius Patriarch of Constantinople. Besides Alphonsus Ciacconius de vit. Pontif. in Alexand. 3. and Azorius the Iesuite. Instit. Moral. part. 2. lib. 5. c. 43.

Tortus. p. 83.

4 What other thing feared *Frederick Barbarossa* but Excommunicacion?

Confutation.

That Frederick feared onely Pope Alexander his Excommunication, no ancient Historian doeth testifie. But many doe write, that this submission of his was principally for feare of loosing his Empire and Dominions. See for this, Martin. Polon. ad an. 1166. Platina in vita Alexand. 3. Laziard. in epitom. Historiæ vniuersal. c. 212. Naucler. generat. 40. Iacobus Wimpelingus in epitom. Rerum Germanic. c. 32.

Tortus. p. 88.

5 Adde heereunto, that *Cuspinian*. [in relating the history of the Turks brother who was poysoned by *Alexander 6.*] hath not the consent of other Writers to witnesse the trueth of this History.

Confutation.

The same History which is reported by Cuspinian, is recorded also by sundry other famous Historians. See Francis Guicciardin. lib. 2. Histor. Ital. Paulus Iouius lib. 2. Hist. sui temporis. Sabellic. Ennead. 10. lib. 9. Continuator. Palmerij, at the yeere 1494.

(t 2)

¶ The

Tortus Lyes confuted.

¶ The nouell Doctrines; with a brieſe declaration of their Noueltie.

Nouell doctrine, p.9.

IT is agreed vpon amongſt all, that the Pope may lawfully depole Hereticall Princes, and free their Subiects from yeelding obedience vnto them.

Confutation.

Nay, all are ſo farre from conſenting in this poynt, that it may much more truly be auouched, that none entertained that conceit before Hildebrand: ſince he was the firſt broacher of this new doctrine neuer before heard of, as many learned men of that age, and the age next following (to omit others of ſucceeding ages) haue expreſly teſtified. See for this poynt, the Epistle of the whole Clergie of Liege to Pope Paſchal the 2. See the iudgement of many Biſhops of thoſe times, recorded by Auentine in his history, lib. 5. fol. 579. Also the ſpeech uttered by Conrade Biſhop of Vtrecht, in the ſayd 5. booke of Auentine, fol. 582. And another by Eberhardus, Arch-Biſhop of Saltzburge. Ibid, lib. 7. p. 684. Also the iudgement of the Arch-Biſhop of Triers, in conſtitut. Imperialib. à M. Haimensfeldio editis. pag. 47. The Epistle of Walthram Biſhop of Megburgh, which is extant in Dodechine his Appendix to the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus, at the yere 1090. Benno in the liſe of Hildebrand. The author of the booke De vnitatē Eccleſiæ, or the Apologie for Henry the 4. Sigebert in his Chronicle, at the yere 1088. Godfrey of Viterbio in his History intituled Pantheon, part. 17. Otho Friſingenſis, lib. 6. c. 35. & præfat. in lib. 7. Frederick Barbaroſſa. lib. 6. Gunther. Ligurin. de geſtis Frederici, and lib. 1. c. 10. of Raduicus, de geſtis eiꝰſdem Frederici. Vincentius in ſpeculo hiſtoriali lib. 15. c. 84. with ſundry others.

Nouell Doctrine. p. 51.

2 In our ſupernaturall birth in Baptiſme wee are to conueiue of a ſecret and implied oath, which wee take at our new birth,

Tortus Lyes confuted.

birth to yeelde obedience to the spirituall Prince, which is Christs Vicar.

Confutation.

It is to be wondered at whence this fellow had this strange new diuinity, which surely was first framed in his owne fantastical brain. Else let him make vs a Catalogue of his Authours, that holde and teach, that all Christians, whether infants or of age, are by vertue of an othe taken in their Baptisme, bound to yeeld absolute obedience to Christs Vicar the Pope, or baptized in any but in Christ.

Nonell Doctrine. p. 94.

But since that Catholike doctrine doth not permit, for the auoidance of any mischief whatsoeuer, to discover the secret of Sacramental confession, he [Garner] rather chose to suffer most bitter death, then to violate the scale of so great a Sacramēt.

Confutation.

That the secret of Sacramentall confession is by no meanes to be disclosed, no not indirectly, or in generall, so the person confessing be concealed, for auoidance and preuention of no mischief, how great soeuer: Besides that it is a position most dangerous to all Princes and Commonwealths, as I shew in my Premonition, pag. 122, 123. it is also a Nouell Assertion, not heard of till of late dayes in the Christian worlde: Since the common opinion euen of the Schoolemen and Canonistes both olde and newe, is vnto the contrary, Witnesse these Authours following: Alexand. Hales part. 4. qu. 78. mem. 2. art. 2. Thom. 4. dist. 21. q. 3. art. 1. ad. 1. Scotus in 4. dist. 21. q. 2. Hadrian. 6. in 4. dist. vbi de Sacram. Confess. edit. Paris. 1530. pag. 289. Dominic. Sor. in 4. dist. 18. q. 4. art. 5. Francisc. de victor. lum. de Sacram. n. 189. Nauar. in Enchirid. c. 8. Ioseph. Angles in Florib. part 1. pag. 247. edit. Antuerp. Petrus Soto lect. 11. de confess. The Iesuites also accorde hereunto, Suarez. Tom. 4. disp. in 3. part. Thom. disp. 33. s. 3. Gregor. de Valentia. Tom. 4. disp. 7. q. 13. punct. 3. who saith the common opinion of the Schoolemen is so.

Nonell Doctrine. p. 102.

4 I dare boldly auow, that the Catholikes haue better rea-

Tortus Lyes confuted.

son to refuse the Oath [of Allegiance.] then Eleazar had to refuse the eating of swines flesh.

Confutation.

This assertion implieth a strange doctrine in deede, that the Popes Breues are to bee preferred before Moyses Law: And that Papistes are more bound to obey the Popes decree, then the Iewes were to obey the Law of God pronounced by Moyses.

Novell Doctrine. p. 135.

5 Churchmen are exempted from the Iurisdiction of secular Princes, & therefore are no subiects to Kings: yet ought they to obserue their Lawes concerning matters temporall, not by vertue of any Lawe, but by enforcement of reason, that is to say, not for that they are their Subiects, but because reason will giue it, that such Lawes are to bee kept for the publike good, and quiet of the Common-wealth.

Confutation.

How true friends the Cardinall and his Chaplen are to Kings, that would haue so many Subiects exempted from their power; See my Premonition, p. 20, 21. Also p. 114, 115. &c. But as for this and the like new Aphorismes, I would haue these cunning Merchants to cease to vent such stufte for ancient and Catholike wares in the Christian world, till they haue dispraued their owne

Venetians, who charge them with Noueltie, and forgery in this point,



Triplici



Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus.

OR

AN APOLOGIE
FOR THE OATH
of Allegiance.

Against the two Breues of Pope

PAVLVS QVINTVS, and the late

Letter of Cardinall BELLEAR-

MINE, JOE. BLACKVELL

the Arch-priest.

*Tunc omnes populi clamauerunt & dixerunt,
Magna est Veritas, & praeualet. ES DR. 3.*

¶ Authoritate Regiâ.


Imprinted at London by Robert

**Barker, Printer to the Kings most
Excellent Maiestie.**

ANNO 1609.



Imprimé à Londres par Robert
 Delford, à la fin de la rue
 de la Harpe, vis-à-vis
 l'Église de Saint-Jacques.



AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH of Allegiance.

WHat a monstrous,
rare, nay neuer heard
of Treacherous At-
tempt, was plotted
within these few yeeres
heere in England, for
the destruction of Me,
my Bed-fellow, and our Posterity, the whole
house of Parliament, and a great number of
good Subiects of all sorts and degrees: is so
famous already through the whole world by
the infamy thereof, as it is needlesse to be re-
peated or published any more; the horreur
of the sinne it selfe doth so lowdly proclaime
it. For if those ^a crying Sinnes (whereof
mention is made in the Scripture) haue that
A epithet

^a Gen 4.10.

epithete giuen them for their publique infamie, and for procuring as it were with a loud crie from heauen a iust vengeance and recompense ; and yet those finnes are both old and too common, neither the world nor any one Countrey being euer at any time cleane voyd of them : If those finnes (I say) are said in the Scripture to cry so loud ; What then must this sinne doe , plotted without cause, infinite in crueltie , and singular from all examples ? What proceeded hereupon is likewise notorious to the whole worlde ; our Iustice onely taking hold vpon the Offenders, and that in as honourable and publique a forme of Trial, as euer was vsed in this Kingdome.

2. For although the onely reason they gaue for plotting so heinous an Attempt, was the zeale they carried to the Romish Religion ; yet were neuer any other of that profession the worse vsed for that cause , as by our gracious Proclamation immediatly after the discouery of the said fact doeth plainly appeare : onely at the next sitting downe againe of the Parliament, there were Lawes made,

made, setting downe some such orders as were thought fit for preuenting the like mischiefes intime to come. Amongst which a forme of OATH was framed to be taken by my Subiects, whereby they should make a cleare profession of their resolution, faithfully to persist in their obedience vnto me, according to their naturall allegiance; To the end that I might hereby make a separation, not onely betweene all my good Subiects in generall, and vnfaithfull Traitors, that intended to withdraw themselves from my obedience; But specially to make a separation betweene so many of my Subiects, who although they were otherwise popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall duetie to their Soueraigne; and those who being caried away with the like fanaticall zeale that the Powder-Traitors were, could not containe themselves within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance, but thought diuersitie of religion a safe pretext for all kinde of treasons, and rebellions against their Soueraigne. Which godly and wise intent God did blesse with suc-

cesse accordingly : For very many of my Subiects that were popishly affected, aswel priests, as layicks, did freely take the same Oath: whereby they both gaue me occasion to thinke the better of their fidelitie, and likewise freed themselues of that heauy slander, that although they were fellow professors of one Religion with the powder Traitors, yet were they not ioyned with them in treasonable courses against their Soueraigne; whereby all quietly minded Papists were put out of despaire, and I gaue a good proote that I intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but onely desired to bee secured of them for ciuill obedience, which for conscience cause they were bound to performe.

3. But the deuil could not haue deuised a more malicious tricke for interrupting this so calme and clement a course, then fell out by the sending hither, and publishing a *Breue* of the Popes, countermaunding all them of his profession to take this Oath; Thereby sowing new seedes of ielousie betweene me and my Popish Subiects, by stirring

ring them vp to disobey that lawfull commandement of their Soueraigne, which was ordeined to be taken of them as a pledge of their fidelity ; And so by their refusall of so iust a charge, to giue me so great and iust a ground for punishment of them, without touching any matter of conscience : throwing themselues needlessly into one of these desperate straites ; either with the losse of their liues and goods to renounce their Allegiance to their naturall Soueraigne ; or else to procure the condemnation of their Soules by renouncing the Catholike faith, as he alleadgeth.

4. And on the other part, although disparity of Religion (the Pope being head of the contrary part) can permit no intelligence nor intercourse of messengers betwene me and the Pope : yet there being no denounced warre betweene vs, he hath by this action broken the rules of common ciuility and iustice betweene Christian Princes, in thus condemning me vnheard, both by accounting me a persecutor, which can not be but implied by exhorting the Papists

to endure Martyrdome; as likewise by so straitly commanding all those of his Profession in England, to refuse the taking of this Oath; thereby refusing to professe their naturall obedience to me their Soueraigne. For if he thinke himselfe my lawfull Iudge, wherefore hath he condemned me vnheard? And, if he haue nothing to doe with me and my gouernement (as indeed he hath not) why doeth hee *mittere falcem in alienam messem*, to meddle betweene mee and my Subiects, especially in matters that meerely and onely concerne ciuill obedience? And yet could *Pius Quintus* in his greatest furie and auowed quarrell against the late Queene, do no more iniury vnto her; then he hath in this cause offered vnto me, without so much as a pretended or an alleadged cause. For what difference there is, betweene the commanding Subiects to rebell, and loosing them from their Oath of Allegiance as *Pius Quintus* did; & the commanding of Subiects not to obey in making profession of their Oath of their dutiful Allegiance, as this Pope hath now done: no man can easily discern.

5. But

5. But to draw neere vnto his *Breue*, wherein certainly he hath taken more paines then he needed, by setting downe in the said *Breue* the whole body of the Oath at length; whereas the only naming of the Title thereof might as wel haue serued, for any answer he hath made thereunto (making *Vna litura*, that is, the flat and generall condemnation of the whole Oath to serue for all his refutation) Therein hauing as well in this respect as in the former, dealt both vndiscreetly with me, and iniuriously with his owne Catholikes. With me; in not refuting particularly what speciall wordes hee quarrelled in that Oath; which if he had done, it might haue bene that for the fatherly care I haue not to put any of my Subiects to a needlesse extremitie, I might haue bene contented in some sort to haue reformed or interpreted those wordes. With his owne Catholicks: for either if I had so done, they had beene therby fully eased in that businesse; or at least if I would not haue condescended to haue altered any thing in the said Oath, yet would thereby some appearance or shadow of excuse

cuse haue beene left vnto them for refusing the same : not as seeming thereby to swarue from their Obedience and Allegiance vnto me, but onely being stayed from taking the same vpon the scrupulous tendernesse of their consciences, in regard of those particular wordes which the Pope had noted and condemned therein.

And now let vs heare the wordes of his thunder.

POPE

POPE PAVLVS

the fift, to the English

Catholikes.

VElbeloued Sonnes, Salutation
and Apostolical Benediction. The
tribulations and calamities, which
yee haue continually sustained for
the keeping of the Catholike Faith, haue alwaies
afflicted vs with great grieve of minde: But for
as much as we vnderstand that at this time all
things are more grievous, our affliction hereby is
wonderfully increased. For we haue heard how
you are compelled, by most grievous punishments
set before you, to goe to the Churches of Here-
tiques, to frequent their assemblies, to be present
at their Sermons. Truely we doe vndoubtedly
beleue, that they which with so great constancie
and fortitude, haue hitherto indured most cruell
persecutions and almost infinite miseries, that
they may walke without spot in the Law of the
Lord; will neuer suffer themselues to bee defiled
with the communion of those that haue forsaken

B

the

The Pope his
first Breue.

the diuine Law. Yet notwithstanding, being compelled by the Zeale of our Pastorall Office, and by our Fatherly care which we doe continually take for the saluation of your soules, we are inforced to admonish and desire you; that by no meanes you come vnto the Churches of the Heretikes, or heare their Sermons, or communicate with them in their Rites, lest you incurre the wrath of God. For these things may yee not doe without indaming the worship of God, and your owne saluation. As likewise you cannot without most euident and grievous wronging of Gods Honour, binde your selues by the Oath, which in like manner we haue heard with very great griefe of our heart is administred vnto you, of the tenor vnder written. *viz.*

The Oath.

I A. B. doe truely and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, is lawfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maiesties Dominions and Countreyes: And that the Pope neither of himselte, nor by any authoritie of the Church or Sea of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other,

ther, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Maiesties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forraigne Prince, to inuade or annoy him or his Countreys, or to discharge any of his Subiects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue Licence or leaue to any of them, to beare Armes, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maiesties Royal person, State or Government, or to any of his Maiesties Subiects within his Maiesties Dominions. Also I doe sweare from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of Excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the *Pope* or his Successors, or by any Authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him or his Sea, against the said King, his Heires or Successors, or any Absolution of the said subiects from their Obedience; I will beare faith and true Allegiance to his Maiestie, his Heires and Successors, and him and them will defend to the vttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever,

which shalbe made against his or their Persons, their Crowne and dignitie, by reason or colour of any such Sentence, or declaration, or otherwise, and will doe my best endeavour to disclose and make knowne vnto his Maiestie, his Heires and Successors, all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies, which I shall know or heare of, to be against him or any of them. And I doe further sweare, That I doe from my heart abhorre, detest and abiure as impious and Hereticall, this damnable doctrine and Position, That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the *Pope*, may be deposed or murdered by their Subiects, or any other whatsoever. And I doe beleue, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the *Pope* nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full Authoritie to be lawfully ministred vnto me, and doe renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to these expresse wordes by me spoken,

ken, and according to the plaine and common sence and vnderstanding of the same words, without any Equiuocation, or mental euasion, or secret reteruation whatsoeuer. And I doe make this Recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly and truly, vpon the true Faith of a Christian. So helpe my G O D.

Which things since they are thus, it must euidently appeare vnto you by the words themselves, That such an Oath cannot be taken without hurting of the Catholique Faith, and the Saluation of your Soules; seeing it conteines many things, which are flat contrary to Faith and Saluation. Wherefore wee doe admonish you, that you doe utterly abstaine from taking this and the like Oathes: which thing wee doe the more earnestly require of you, because we haue experience of the Constancie of your Faith, which is tried like Gold in the fire of perpetuall Tribulation. Wee doe wel knowe, that you will cheerefully vnder-goe all kind of cruell Torments whatsoeuer, yea and constantly endure death it selfe, rather then you will in any thing offend the Maiestie of God. And this our Confidence is confirmed by those things,

which are dayly reported unto vs, of the singular Vertue, Valour and fortitude which in these last times doeth no lesse shine in your Martyrs, then it did in the first beginnings of the Church. Stand therefore, your Loynes being girt about with Veritie, and hauing on the Brest-plate of righteousness, taking the Shield of Faith, bee yee strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; And let nothing hinder you. Hee which will crowne you, and doeth in Heauen beholde your Conflicts, will finish the good worke which he hath begun in you. You know how he hath promised his Disciples, that hee will neuer leaue them Orphanes: for hee is faithfull which hath promised. Hold fast therefore his correction, that is, being rooted and grounded in Charitie, whatsoeuer ye doe, whatsoeuer yee indeuour, doe it with one accord, in simplicitie of Heart, in meekenesse of Spirit, without murmuring or doubting. For by this doe all men know that wee are the Disciples of Christ, if we haue Loue one to another. Which Charitie, as it is very greatly to bee desired of all faithfull Christians; So certainly is it altogether necessary for you, most blessed Sonnes. For by this your Charitie,
the

the power of the Devill is weakened, who doeth
so much assaile you, since that Power of his is e-
specially up-held by the Contentions and Disa-
greement of our Sonnes. We exhort you there-
fore by the bowels of our Lord Iesus Christ, by
whose Loue we are taken out of the lawes of e-
ternall Death; That aboue all things you would
haue mutuall Charitie among you. Surely Pope
Clement the eight of happy memory, hath giuen
you most profitable Precepts of practising bro-
therly Charitie one to another, in his Letters in
forme of a Breue, to our welbeloued Sonne M.
George Arch-priest of the Kingdome of Eng-
land, dated the 5. day of the moneth of October,
1602. Put them therefore diligently in pra-
ctise, and bee not hindered by any difficultie or
doubtfulnesse. We command you that ye doe ex-
actly obserue the words of those Letters, and that
yee take and vnderstand them simply as they
sound, and as they lie; all power to interpret them
otherwise, being taken away. In the meane
while, we will neuer cease to pray to the Father
of Mercies, that hee would with pitie behold
your afflictions and your paines; And that he
would keepe and defend you with his continuall

Pro-

Protection: whom we doe gently greete with our Apostolicall Benediction. Dated at Rome at S. Marke, vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the tenth of the Calends of October, 1606. the second yeere of our Popedome.



THE ANSWERE to the first Breue.

Hirst, the Pope expresseth heerein his sorrow, for that persecution which the Catholiques sustaine for the faiths sake. Wherein, besides the maine vntueth whereby I am so iniuriously vsed, I must euer auow and maintaine, as the trueth is according to mine owne knowledge, that the late Queene of famous memorie, neuer punished any Papist for religion, but that their owne punishment was euer extorted out of her hands against her will, by their owne misbehauour, which both the time and circumstances of her actions

actions will manifestly make prooffe of. For before *Pius Quintus* his excommunication giuing her ouer for a preye, and setting her Subiects at liberty to rebel, it is well knowne she neuer medled with the blood or hard punishment of any Catholique, nor made any rigorous lawes against them. And since that time, who list to compare with an indifferent eye, the manifold intended Inuasions against her whole Kingdome, the foraine practises, the internall publike rebellions, the priuate plots and machinations, poysonings, murthers, and all sorts of deuises, *et quid non?* daily set abroad; and all these wares continually fostered & fomented from *Rome*; together with the continuall corrupting of her Subiects, as well by temporall bribes, as by faire and specious promises of eternall felicitie; and nothing but booke vpon booke publicly set forth by her fugitiues, for approbation of so holly designs: who list, I say, with an indifferent eye, to looke on the one part, vpon those infinite & intollerable temptations, and on the other part vpon the iust, yet moderate

C punish-

punishment of a part of these hainous offenders ; shall easily see that that blessed de-funct Lady vvas as free from persecution, as they shall free these hellish Instruments from the honour of martyrdom.

5. But novv having sacrificed (if I may so say) to the *Manes* of my late predecessor, I may next vvith *S. Paul* iustly vindicate my ovvne fame, from those innumerable calumnies spred against me, in testifying the trueth of my behaviour tovvard the Papists : vvher-in I may truely affirme, that vvhatsoever vvas her iust and mercifull Gouvernement ouer the Papists in her time, my Gouvernement ouer them since hath so farre exceeded hers, in mercie and clemencie , as not onely the Papists themselves grevve to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildenesse , as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves liberty of conscience and equalitie vvith other of my Subiects in all things ; but euen a number of the best and faithfullest of my sayd subiects, vv ere cast in great feare & amazement of my course and proceedings, euer prognosticating and iustly suspecting

suspecting that sowre fruit to come of it, which sheved it- selfe clearely in the powder-Treason. How many did I honour with knighthood, of knowen & open Recusants? How indifferently did I giue audience, and accesse to both sides, bestowing equally all fauours and honors on both professions? How free & continual accesse, had all rankes & degrees of Papists in my Court & company? And aboue all, how frankly and freely did I free Recusants of their ordinary payments? Besides, it is euident what strait order vvas giuen out of my ovne mouth to the Iudges, to spare the execution of all Priests, (notwithstanding their conuiction,) ioyning thereunto a gracious Proclamation, wherby all Priests, that were at liberty, and not taken, might goe out of the country by such a day: my generall Pardon hauing bin extended to all conuicted Priests in prison: whereupon they vvere set at liberty as good Subjects: and all Priests that were taken after, sent ouer and set at liberty there. But time & paper vvill faile mee to make enumeration of all the benefits and fauours that I

*a Magno cum
animi dolore,
&c.*

bestowed in generall and particular vpon
Papists : in recounting whereof euery scrape
of my pen would serue but for a blot of the
Popes ingratitude and Iniustice, in meating
me with so hard a measure for the same. So
as I thinke I haue sufficiently, or at least with
good reason wiped the ^a *teares* from the
Popes eyes, for complaining vpon such per-
secution, who if he had beene but poliitely
wise, although he had had no respect to
Iustice and Veritie, would haue in this com-
plaint of his, made a difference betweene
my present time, and the time of the late
Queene, And so by his commending of my
moderation, in regarde of former times,
might haue had hope to haue moued me to
haue continued in the same clement course.
For it is a true saying, that alledged kindnes
vpon noble mindes, doth euer worke much.
And for the maine vntrueth of any persecu-
tion in my time, it can neuer be proued, that
any were, or are put to death since I came to
the Crowne for cause of Conscience : except
that now this discharge giuen by the Pope
to all Catholiques to take their oath of Al-
legiance

legiance to me, be the cause of the due punishment of many: which if it fall out to be, let the blood ligat vpon the Popes head, who is the onely cause thereof.

As for the next point contained in his *Breue* concerning his discharge of all Papists to come to our Church, or frequent our rites and ceremonies, I am not to meddle at this time with that matter, because my errand now only is to publish to the world the Iniurie and Iniustice done vnto me in discharging my subiects to make profession of their obedience vnto me. Now as to the point where the oath is quarrelled, it is set downe in few, but very weightie words; to wit, *That it ought to be cleare vnto all Catholiques, that this oath cannot be taken with safety of the Catholike Faith, and of their soules health, since it containeth many things that are plainly and directly contrary to their faith & saluation.* To this, the old saying fathered vpon the Philosopher may very fitly be applied, *Multa dicit sed pauca probat*: nay indeede, *Nihil omnino probat*. For how the profession of the natural Allegiance of Subiects to their Prince

The intendment of this discourse.

a Iosh. 1. 17.

b Iere. 27. 12.

c Exod. 5. 1.

d Ezra. 1. 3.

e Rom. 13. 5.

f Augustin in
psal. 124.

can be directly opposite to the faith & saluation of soules; is so farre beyond my simple reading in Diuinitie, as I must thinke it a strange and new Assertion; to proceed out of the mouth of that pretended generall Pastor of all Christian soules. I reade indeede, and not in one, or two, or three places of Scripture, that Subiects are bound to obey their Princes for conscience sake, whether they were good or wicked Princes. So saide the people to ^a Ioshua, *As wee obeyed Moses in all things, so will we obey thee.* So the ^b Prophet commanded the people to obey the King of Babel, saying, *Put your neckes vnder the yoke of the King of Babel, and serue him and his people, that yee may liue.* So were the children of Israel, vnto ^c Pharaoh, desiring him to let them goe: so to ^d Cyrus, obtaining leaue of him to returne to build the Temple: and in a word, the ^e Apostle willed all men to be *subiect to the higher powers for conscience sake.* Agreeable to the Scriptures did the Fathers teach. ^f *Augustine* speaking of *Iulian*, saith, *Iulian was an vnbeleeuing Emperour: was he not an Apostata, an Oppressour, and an Idolater?*
Christian

the Oath of Allegiance.

23

Christian Souldiers serued that Unbeleeu-
 ing Emperour: when they came to the cause of
 CHRIST, they would acknowledge no Lord,
 but him that is in heauen: When he would haue
 them to worship Idoles and to sacrifice, they pre-
 ferred GOD before him: But when hee said,
 goe forth to fight, inuade such a nation, they pre-
 sently obeyed. They distinguished their eternall
 Lord from their temporall, and yet were they
 subiect euen vnto their temporall lord, for his
 sake that was their eternall Lord and Master.
 § Tertullian saith, A Christian is enemie to no
 man, much lesse to the Prince, whom hee know-
 eth to be appointed of God: and so of necessitie
 must loue, reuerence and honour him, and wish
 him safe with the whole Romane Empire, so long
 as the world shall last: for so long shall it endure.
 We honour therefore the Emperour in such sort,
 as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him, as a
 man, the next vnto God, and obtaining from God
 whatsoeuer hee hath, and onely inferiour vnto
 God. This the Emperour himselfe would: for so
 is he greater then all, while hee is inferiour onely
 to the true God. ^h Iustine Martyr; We onely a-
 dore God, and in all other things cherefully per-
 forme

§ Tertulian
 Scap.

^h Iust. Martyr
 Apol. 2. ad Ant.
 Imperat.

i Amb. in orat.
cont. Auxentiū
de basilicis tra-
den. habetur lib.
5. Epist. Amb.

k Optat. contra
Parmen. lib. 3.
l Greg. Mag.
Epist. lib. 2.
indict. 11.
Epist. 61.

forme seruice to you, professing that you are Em-
perours and Princes of men. ⁱ Ambrose; I may
lament, weepe and sigh: My teares are my wea-
pons against their armes, souldiers, and the
Gothes also: such are the weapons of a Priest:
Ocherwise neither ought I, neither can I resist.
^k Optatus; Ouer the Emperour, there is none but
onely God, that made the Emperour. And ^l Gre-
gory writing to Mauritius about a certaine
Law, that a souldier should not be receiued
into a Monastery, *nondū expleta militia*, The
Almightie God, saith he, holdes him guilty, that
is not vpright to the most excellent Emperour
in all things that he doth or speaketh. And then
calling himselfe the vnworthy seruant of his
Godlinesse, goeth on in the whole Epistle to
shew the iniustice of that Law, as he preten-
deth: and in the ende concludes his Epistle
with these words, *I being subiect to your com-
maund, haue caused the same Law to bee sent
through diuers parts of your Dominions: and be-
cause the Law it selfe doeth not agree to the Law
of the Almighty God, I haue signified the same
by my letters to your most excellent Lordship:
so that on both parts I haue payed what I ought:*
because

because I haue yeelded obedience to the Emperour, and haue not holden my peace, in what I thought for God. Now how great a contrarietie there is betwixt this ancient Popes action in obeying an Emperour by the publication of his Decree, which in his owne conscience he thought vnlawfull, and this present Popes prohibition to a Kings Subiects from obedience vnto him in things most lawfull and meere temporall; I remit it to the Readers indifferency. And answerably to the Fathers spake the Councils in their decrees. As the Councell of ^m Arles, submitting the whole Councell to the Emperour in these words: *These things we haue decreed to be presented to our lord the Emperour, beseeching his clemencie, that if we haue done lesse then we ought, it may be supplied by his wisdom: if any thing otherwise then reason requireth, it may bee corrected by his iudgement: if any thing bee found fault with by vs with reason, it may be perfected by his ayd with Gods fauourable assistance.*

But why should I speake of Charles the Great, to whom not one Councell, but fixe seuerall Councils, *Frankford, Arles, Tours,*
D *Chalons,*

*m Concil. Ar-
lense sub Ca-
rolo Mag.
Can. 26.*

Chalons, Ments & Rhemes did wholly submit themselves? and not rather speake of all the generall Councils, that of *Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon*, and the foure other commonly so reputed, which did submit themselves to the Emperours wisdom, and pietie in all things? Insomuch as that of *Ephesus* repeated it foure severall times, *That they were summoneda by the Emperours Oracle, becke, charge, and command, and betooke themselves to his Godlinesse, a beseeching him, that the decrees made against Nestorius and his followers, might by his power haue their full force and Validitie*, as appeareth manifestly in the Epistle of the generall Councell of *Ephesus* written *ad Augustos*. I also reade that Christ said, *his b kingdome was not of this world, bidding, Giue to c Cæsar what was Cæsars, and to God what was Gods*. And I euer held it for an infallible maxime in Diuinitie, That temporall obedience to a temporal Magistrate did nothing repugne to matters of faith or saluation of soules. But that euer temporall obedience was against faith and saluation of soules, as in this *Breue* is alledged, was neuer before

a Vide epistolam generalem Conc. Ephes. ad August.

b Iohn 18. 36.

c Mat. 22. 21.

before heard nor read of in the Christian Church. And therefore I would haue wished the Pope, before he had set downe this commaundement to all Papiſts here, That ſince in him is the power, by the infalibility of his ſpirit, to make new articles of faith when euer it ſhall pleaſe him; that he had firſt ſet it downe for an article of faith, before hee had commaunded all Catholikes to beleeue and obey it. I will then conclude the anſwere to this point in a *Dilemma*.

Either it is lawful to obey the Soueraigne in temporall things, or not.

If it be lawfull, (as I neuer heard nor read it doubted of) then why is the Pope ſo vniuſt and ſo cruel towards his owne Catholikes, as to commaund them to diſobey their Soueraignes lawfull commaundement?

If it be vnlawful, why hath he neither expreſſed any one cauſe or reaſon thereof, nor yet wil giue the leaue, (nay rather he ſhould commaund and perſwade them in plaine termes) not to liue vnder a King whom vnto they ought no obedience?

And as for the vehement exhortation vn-

Question.

1.

2.

Anſwere to
the Popes ex-
hortation.

to them to perseuere in constancie, and to suffer martyrdom, and all tribulation for this cause; it requireth no other answer then onely this, That if the ground be good whereupon he hath commaunded them to stand, then exhortation to constancie is necessary: but if the ground bee vniust, and naught (as indeed it is, and I haue in part already proued) then this Exhortation of his can work no other effect, then to make him guilty of the blood of so many of his sheep, whom he doeth thus wilfully cast away, not onely to the needlesse losse of their liues, and ruine of their families, but euen to the laying on of a perpetuall flaunder vpon all Papists; as if no zealous Papist could be a true subiect to his Prince; and that the profession of that Religion, and the temporall obedience to the Ciuill Magistrate, were two things repugnant & incompatible in themselves. But euill information, and vntrue reports (which beeing carried so farre as betweene this and *Rome*, cannot but increase by the way) might haue abused the *Pope*, and made him dispatch this *Breue* so rashly.

For

*Fama vires ac-
quirit cundo.*

the Oath of Allegiance.

29

For that great City, Queene of the World, and as then selues confesse, a mystically *Babylon*, cannot but be so full of all sorts of intelligencies. Besides, all complainers (as the Catholikes heere are) be naturally given to exaggerate their owne griefes, and multiply thereupon. So that it is no wonder, that euen a Iudge sitting there, should vpon wrong information, giue an vnrightheous sentence; as some of their owne partie doe not sicke to confesse, that *Pius Quintus* was too rashly caried vpon wrong information, to pronounce his thunder of Excommunication vpon the late Queene. And it may be, the like excuse shal hereafter be made for the two *Breues*, which *Clemens octauus* sent to *England* immediatly before her death, for debarring mee of the Crowne, or any other that either would professe, or any wayes tollerate the professors of our Religion; contrary to his manifold vowes and protestations, *simul & eodem tempore*, & as it were, deliuered *vno & eodem spiritu*, to diuers of my ministers abroad, professing such kindnesse, and shewing such forwardnesse to aduance

a *Eusebius, Oecumenius* and *Leo* hold, that by *Babylon* in 1. Pet. 5. 13 *Rome* is meant, as the *Rhemists* themselues confesse.

b See the Relation of the whole proceedings against the Traitors, *Garner* and his confederates.

The Catho-
likes opinion
of the Breue

mee to this Crowne. Nay, the most part of Catholikes heere, finding this *Breue* when it came to their handes, to bee so farre ag^t inst diuinity, policy, or naturall sense, were firmly perswaded, that it was but a counterfeit Libel, deuised in hatred of the *Pope*; or at the farthest, a thing hastily done vpon wrong information, as was before saide. Of which opinion were not onely the simpler sort of Papists, but euen some amongst them of best account, both for learning and experience; whereof the Arch-priest himselfe was one. But for soluing of this obiection, the *Pope* himselfe hath taken new paines by sending forth a second *Breue*, onely for giuing faith and confirmation to the former: That whereas before, his sinne might haue beene thought to haue proceeded from rashnesse, and mis-information, he will now wilfully and willingly double the same: whereof the Copie followeth.

TO

TO OVR BELO-
ued sonnes the English Ca-
tholikes, *Paulus P.P. V^m.*

Beloued Sonnes, *Salutation and Apostolicall benediction.* It is reported vnto vs, that there are found certaine amongst you, who when as wee haue sufficiently declared by our Letters, dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October in the forme of a Breue, that ye cannot with safe Conscience take the Oath, which was then required of you; and when as we haue further straightly commanded you, that by no meanes ye should take it; yet there are some, I say, among you, which dare now affirme, that such Letters concerning the forbidding of the Oath, were not written of our owne accord, or of our owne proper will, but rather for the respect and at the instigation of other men. And for that cause, the same men do goe about to perswade you, that our commands in the said letters are not to be regarded. Surely this newes did trouble

The second
Breue.

trouble vs; and that so much the more, because hauing had experience of your obedience (most dearly beloued sonnes) who to the end ye might obey this holy See, haue godlily, and valiantly condemned your riches, wealth, honour, libertie, yea and life it selfe; we should neuer haue suspected, that the trueth of our Apostolike letters could once be called into question among you, that by this pretence yee might exempt your selues from our commandements. But we doe herein perceiue the subtiltie and craft of the enemy of mans saluation; and wee doe attribute this your backwardnesse rather to him, then to your owne will. And for this cause, we haue thought good to write the second time vnto you, and to signifie vnto you againe, that our Apostolike letters dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written not onely vpon our proper motion, and of our certaine knowledge, but also after long and weightie deliberation vsed concerning all those things, which are contained in them; and for that cause that yee are bound fully to obserue them, reiecting all interpretation perswading to the contrary. And this is our meere, pure, and perfect

perfect will, being alwayes carefull of your saluation, and alwayes minding those things which are most profitable vnto you. And we doe pray without ceasing, that he that hath appointed our lowlines to the keeping of the flocke of Christ, would inlighten our thoughts and our counsels: whom wee doe also continually desire, that hee would increase in you (our beloued Sonnes) faith, constancy, and mutuall charity and peace one to another. All whom, wee doe most louingly bleſse with all charitable affection.

Dated at Rome at Saint Markes vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the x. of the Calends of September, 1607. the third yeere of our Popedome.

E T H E



THE ANSWERE to the second *Breue*.

Now for this *Breue*, I may iustly reflect his owne phrase vpon him, in tearming it to bee *The craft of the Deuil*. For if the Deuil had studied a thousand yeres, for to finde out a mischiefe for our Catholikes here, hee hath found it in this : that now when many Catholiks haue taken their Oath, and some Priests also ; yea, the Arch-priest himselte, without compunction or sticking, they shall not now onely bee bound to refuse the profession of their naturall Allegiance to their Soueraigne, which might yet haue bene some way coloured vpo diuers scruples conceiued vpon the wordes of the Oath ; but they must now renounce & forswear their profession of obedience already sworne, and so must as it were at the third instance forswear

A double
Oath of euery
Subiect.

swear their former two Oaths, first closely sworn, by their birth in the naturall Allegiance; and next, clearely confirmed by this Oath, which doeth nothing but expresse the same: so as no man can now hold the faith, or procure the saluation of his soule in *England*, that must not abiure and renounce his borne and sworn Allegiance to his naturall Soueraigne.

And yet it is not sufficient to ratifie the last yeeres *Brene*, by a new one come forth this yeere; but (that not onely euery yeere, but euery moneth may produce a new monster) the great and famous Writer of the Controuersies, the late vn-Iesuited Cardinall *Bellarmino*, must adde his talent to this good worke, by blowing the bellows of sedition, and sharpening the spur to rebellion, by sending such a Letter of his to the Arch-priest here, as it is wonder how passion and an ambitious desire of maintaining that Monarchie, should charme the wits of so famously learned a man.

The Copie whereof here followeth.

E 2

TO

TO THE VERY RE-
uerend M^r George Blackwel,
Arch-priest of the English: Robert Bel-
larmino Cardinall of the holy Church of
Rome, greeting.



Everend Sir, and Brother in
CHRIST, It is almost fourty
yeeres since we did see one the
other: but yet I haue neuer bin
unmindful of our ancient ac-
quaintance, neither haue I ceased seeing I could
doe you no other good, to commend your labou-
ring most painfully in the Lords Vineyard, in my
prayers to GOD. And I doubt not, but that
I haue liued all this while in your memory, and
haue had some place in your prayers at the Lords
Altar. So therefore euen vnto this time we
haue abidden, as S. Iohn speaketh, in the mutuall
loue one of the other, not by word or letter, but
in deede and trueth. But a late message which
was brought vnto vs within these few dayes, of
your bonds and imprisonment, hath inforced mee

to

to breake off this silence; which message, although it seemed heavy in regard of the losse which that Church hath receiued, by their beeing thus deprived of the comfort of your pastorall function among them, yet withall it seemed ioyous, because you drewe neere vnto the glory of Martyrdom, then the which gift of God there is none more happy; That you, who haue fed your flocke so many yeeres with the word and doctrine, should now feed it more gloriously by the example of your patience. But another heauy tidings did not a litle disquiet and almost take away this ioy, which immediatly followed, of the aduersaries assault, and peradventure of the slip and fall of your Constancy in refusing an unlawfull Oath. Neither truely (most deare Brother) could that Oath therefore be lawfull, because it was offered in sort tempered and modified: for you know that those kinde of modifications are nothing else, but sleights & subtilties of Sathan, that the Catholique faith touching the Primacie of the Sea Apostolique, might either secretly or openly be shot at, for the which faith so many worthy Martyrs euen in that very England it selfe, haue resisted vnto blood. For most certaine

it is, that in whatsoeuer wordes the Oath is conceived by the aduersaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end; that the authoritie of the head of the Church in England, may be transferred from the successour of S. Peter, to the Successour of K. Henry the eight. For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the high Priest should haue the same power in England, which hee hath in all other Christian Kingdomes, it is altogether idle, as all that haue any understanding, may easily perceiue. For it was neuer heard of from the Churches infancy vntill this day, that euer any Pope did command that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike, though a Persecutor, should be murdered; or did approne of the fact when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doeth onely the King of England feare that, which none of all other the Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or euer did feare?

But, as I saide, these vaine pretexes are but the trappes and stratagemes of Satan: Of which kinde I could produce not a fewe out of Ancient Stories, if I went about to write a booke and not an Epistle. One onely for example sake I will call

call to your memory S. Gregorius Nazianzenus in his first Oration against Iulian the Emperour, reporteth, That he, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romanes did vse to bow dawne vnto with a ciuill kind of reuerence: so that no man could doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, but withall he must adore the Images of the false gods; whereupon it came to passe that many were deceiued. And if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grievously punished, as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the Oath that is offered to you, which is to so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Ciuill subiection, but he must be constrained perfidiously to denie the Primacie of the Apostolike Sea. But the seruants of Christ, and especially the chiefe Priests of the Lord ought to be so farre from taking an vnlawfull Oath, where they may indamage the Faith, that they ought to beware that they giue not the least suspicion of dissimulation

lation that they haue taken it, least they might seeme to haue left any example of preuarication to faithfull people. Which thing that worthy Eleazar did most notably performe, who would neither eate swines flesh, nor so much as faine to haue eaten it, although hee saw the great torments that did hang ouer his head; least, as himselfe speaketh in the second booke of the Machabees, many yong men might be brought through that similation, to preuaricate with the Law. Neither did Basil the great by his example, which is more fit for our purpose, carrie himselfe lesse worthily toward Valens the Emperour. For as Theodoret writeth in his Historie, when the Deputy of that heretical Emperour did perswade Saint Basill, that he would not resist the Emperour for a little subtiltie of a few points of doctrine; that most holy and prudent man made answer, That it was not to bee indured, that the least syllable of Gods word should bee corrupted, but rather all kind of torment was to be embraced, for the maintenance of the Trueth thereof. Now I suppose, that there wants not amongst you, who say that they are but subtilties of Opinions that are contained in the Oath

Oath that is offred to the Catholikes, and that you are not to striue against the Kings Authoritie for such a little matter. But there are not wanting also amongst you holy men like unto Basil the Great, which will openly auow, that the very least syllable of Gods diuine trueth is not to be corrupted, though many torments were to be endured, and death it selfe set before you. Amongst whom it is meete, that you should bee one, or rather the Standerd-bearer, and Generall to the rest. And whatsoeuer hath beene the cause, that your Constancie hath quailed, whether it bee the suddennesse of your apprehension, or the bitternesse of your persecution, or the imbecillitie of your old age: yet we trust in the goodnesse of God, & in your owne long continued Vertue, that it will come to passe, that as you seeme in some part to haue imitated the fall of Peter, and Marcellinus, so you shall happily imitate their valour in recouering your strength, and maintaining the truth. For if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, truly you shall see, it is no small matter that is called in question by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our faith and foundations of Catholique
F Religion.

Religion. For heare what your Apostle S. Gregory the Great hath written, in his 24. Epistle of his 11. booke. Let not the reuerence due to the Apostolique Sea, bee troubled by any mans presumption : for then the estate of the members doeth remaine entire, when the head of the faith is not bruised by any iniury. Therefore by S. Gregories testimonie, when they are busie about disturbing or diminishing, or taking away of the Primacie of the Apostolique Sea: then are they busie about cutting off the verie head of the faith, and dissoluing of the state of the whole body, and of all the members. Which selfe same thing S. Leo doth confirme in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Popedome, when he saith, Our Lord had a speciall care of Peter, & prayed properly for Peters faith, as though the state of others were more stable, when their Princes minde was not to be ouer come. Whereupon himselfe in his Epistle to the Bishops of the prouince of Vienna, doeth not doubt to affirme, that he is not partaker of the diuine Mystery, that dare depart from the solidity of Peter, who also saith, That who thinke the Primacy to be denied to that Sea, he

he can in no sort lessen the authority of it : but by beeing puffed vp with the spirit of his own pride, doth cast himself headlong into hel. These & many other of this kind, I am very sure are most familiar to you : who besides many other bookes, haue diligently read ouer the visible Monarchie of your owne Saunders, a most diligent writer, and one who hath worthily deserved of the Church of England. Neither can you be ignorant, that these most holy & learned men Iohn Bishop of Rochester, and Tho. Moore, within our memorie, for this one most weightie head of doctrine, led the way to Martyrdom to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English nation. But I would put you in remembrance that you should take hart, & considering the weightines of the cause, not to trust too much to your owne iudgement, neither be wise aboue that is meete to be wise : and if peraduenture your fall haue proceeded not vpon want of consideration, but through humane infirmity, & for feare of punishment and imprisonment, yet doe not preferre a temporall liberty to the libertie of the glory of the Sonnes of God : neither for escaping a light and momentanie tribulation, lose an

eternall weight of glory, which tribulation it self doth worke in you. You haue fought a good fight a long time, you haue well-neere finished your course; so many yeres haue you kept the faith: doe not therefore lose the reward of such labours; do not depriue your selfe of that crown of righteousness which so long agoe is prepared for you, Doe not make the faces of so many yours both brethren and children ashamed. Vpon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, to men; Do not so carry your self in this your last acte, that you leaue nothing but laments to your friends, and ioy to your enemies. But rather on the contrary, which we assuredly hope, & for which we continually power forth prayers to God, display gloriously the banner of faith, and make to reioyce the Church which you haue made beaue; so shall you not onely merite pardon at Gods hands, but a crowne. Farewell. Quite you like a man, and let your heart be strengthened. From Rome. the 28. day of September, 1607.

Your very Reuerendships brother
and seruant in Christ, Robert
Bellarmine Cardinall.

THE



THE ANSWERE

to the Cardinals Letter.

AND now that I am to enter in-
to the felde against him by re-
futing his Letter, I must first vse
this protestation ; That no de-
sire of vaine glory by matching with so
learned a man, maketh mee to vndertake
this taske; but onely the care & conscience
I haue, that such smooth *Circes* charmes
and guiled pilles, as full of exterior elo-
quence, as of in ward vntruthes, may not
haue that publike passage through the
world without an answer : whereby my
reputation might vniustly be darkened, by
such cloudy and foggy mists of vntruthes
and false imputations, the hearts of vnstayed
and simple men be mis-led, & the trueth
itselfe smothered.

But before I come to the particular an-
swere of this Letter, I must here desire the

A great miltaking of the
state of the
Question and
case in hand.

world to wonder with me, at the committing of so grosse an error by so learned a man : as that hee should haue pained himselfe to haue set downe so elaborate a letter, for the refutation of a quite mistaken question. For it appeareth, that our English Fugitiues, of whose inward societie with him he so greatly vaunteth, haue so fast hammered in his head the Oath of Supremacie, which hath euer bin so great a scarre vnto them, as he thinking by his letter to haue refuted the last Oath, hath in place thereof onely paid the Oath of Supremacie, which was most in his head : as a man that being earnestly caried in his thoughts vpon another matter, then he is presently in doing, will often name the matter or person hee is thinking of, in place of the other thing he hath at that time in hand.

The difference
betweene the
Oath of Supremacie, and
this of Allegiance.

For, as the Oath of Supremacie was deuised for putting a difference betweene Papists, and them of our profession : so was this Oath, which he would seeme to impugn, ordained for making a difference between the ciuilly obedient Papists, & the peruerse

peruerſe diſciples of the powder-Treaſon. Yet doth all his letter runne vpon an Inuectiue againſt the Compulſion of Catholiques to deny the authoritie of Saint *Peters* Succeſſors; and in place thereof to acknowledge the Succeſſors of King *Henry* the eight. For, in King *Henry* the eights time was the Oath of Supremacie firſt made: by him were *Thomas Moore* and *Roffenſis* put to death, partly for reſuſing of it. From his time til now haue al the Princes of this land profeſſing this Religion, ſucceſſiueſly in effect maintained the ſame: and in that Oath only is contained the Kings absolute pover, to be iudge ouer all perſons, aſyuel Ciuil as Eccleſiaſtical; excluding al forraine poveres and Potentates to be iudges vvithin his Dominions: vvheras this laſt made Oath containeth no ſuch matter, onely meddling vvith the ciuil obedience of ſubiects to their Soueraigne, in meere temporall cauſes.

And that it may the better appeare, that vvhereas by name he ſeemeth to condemne the laſt Oath; yet indeed his vvhole Letter runneth vpon nothing, but vpon the condemna-

demnation of the Oath of Supremacie : I haue here thought good to set downe the saide Oath, leauing it then to the discretion of euery indifferent reader to iudge, whether hee doeth not in substance onely answer to the Oath of Supremacie, but that he giueth the child a wrong name.

I A B. doe vtterly testifie and declare in my Conscience, that the Kings Highnesse is the onely Supreamer Governour of this Realme, and all other his Highnesse Dominions and Counties, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall: And that no forraine Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any Iurisdiction, Power, Superioritie, Preeminence or Authoritie Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realme. And therefore, I do vtterly renounce and forsake all forreine Iuridictions, Powers, Superiorities and authorities; and do promise that from hencefoorth I shall beare faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and lawfull Successors: and to my power shall assise and defend all iuridictions, Priuiledges, Freeminences and Authorities graunted or belonging to the

the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and Successors, or United and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of the Realme: So helpe mee God: and by the Contents of this booke.

And that the iniustice, as well as the error of his grosse mistaking in this point, may yet be more clearly discovered; I haue also thought good to insert here immediatly after the Oath of Supremacie, the contrary Conclusions to all the points and Articles, whereof this other late Oath doeth consist: whereby it may appeare, what vnreasonable and rebellious points hee would driue my Subiects vnto, by refusing the whole body of that Oath, as it is conceiued. For he that shall refuse to take this Oath, must of necessity hold all, or some of these propositions following.

That I, King IAMES, am not the lawfull King of this Kingdome, and of all other my Dominions.

That the Pope by his owne authoritie may depose me. If not by his owne authoritie, yet by some other authoritie of the Church, or of the Sea of Rome. If not by

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some

1

2

some other authoritie of the Church & Sea of *Rome*, yet by other meanes with others helpe, he may depose me.

3. That the *Pope* may dispose of my Kingdomes and Dominions.

4. That the *Pope* may giue authoritie to some forren Prince to inuade my Dominions.

5. That the *Pope* may discharge my Subiects of their Allegiance and Obedience to me.

6. That the *Pope* may giue licence to one, or more of my Subiects to beare armes against me.

7. That the *Pope* may giue leaue to my Subiects to offer violence to my Person, or to my Gouvernement, or to some of my Subiects.

8. That if the *Pope* shall by sentence excommunicate or depose me, my Subiects are not to beare Faith and Allegiance to me.

9. If the *Pope* shall by Sentence excommunicate or depose mee, my Subiects are not bound to defend with all their power my Person and Crowne.

10. If the *Pope* shall giue out any Sentence
of

the Oath of Allegiance.

51

of Excommunication or Deprivation against me, my Subjects by reason of that sentence are not bound to reueale all Conspiracies and Treasons against mee, which shal come to their hearing and knowledge.

That it is not hereticall and detestable to hold, that Princes being excommunicated by the *Pope*, may be either deposed or killed by their Subjects, or any other.

11

That the *Pope* hath power to absolue my Subjects from this Oath, or from some part thereof.

12

That this Oath is not administred to my Subjects, by a full and lawfull authoritie.

13

That this Oath is to be taken with Equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation: and not with the heart and good will, sincerely in the true faith of a Christian man.

14

These are the true and naturall branches of the body of this Oath. The affirmatiue of all which negatives, doe neither concerne in any case the *Popes* Supremacie in spiritual causes: nor yet were euer concluded, and defined by any complete generall Councell to belong to the *Popes* authoritie; and their

Touching the
pretended
Council of
Lateran. See
Plac. Invisa
Innocen. III.

The Oath of
Allegiance
confirmed by
the authoritie
of ancient
Councils.

The ancient
Councils
provided for
Equiuocation

owne schoole Doctors are at irreconcilable oddes and iarres about them.

And that the world may yet further see ours and the whole States setting downe of this Oath, did not proceed from any new inuention of our owne, but as it is warranted by the word of **G O D**: so doeth it take the example from an Oath of Allegiance decreed a thousand yeeres agoe, which a famous Council then, together with diuers other Councils, were so farre from condemning (as the *Pope* now hath done this Oath.) as I haue thought good to set downe their owne words here in that purpose: whereby it may appeare that I craue nothing now of my Subiects in this Oath, which was not expressly and carefully commanded then, by the Councils to be obeyed without exception of persons. Nay, not in the very particular point of *equiuocation*, which I in this Oath was so carefull to haue eschewed: but you shall here see the said Councils in their Decrees, as carefull to provide for the eschewing of the same; so as almost euery point of that Action, and this of ours shall be found to haue

the Oath of Allegiance.

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haue relation and agreeance one with the other, saue only in this, that thoseould Councils were carefull and strait in commanding the taking of the same: whereas by the contrary, he that nowv vanteth himselfe to bee head of all Councils, is as carefull and strait in the prohibition of all men from the taking of this Oath of Allegiance.

The vvordes of the Council bee these.

Heare our Sentence.

*Who, soeuer of vs, or of all the people thorow-
out all Spaine, shall goe about by any meanes of
conspiracie or practise, to violate the Oath of his
fidelitie, which he hath taken for the preservation
of his Countrey, or of the Kings life; or who
shall attempt to put violent bands vpon the
King; or to deprive him of his kingly power; or
that by tyrannicall presumption would vsurpe
the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome: let him bee
accused in the sight of God the Father, and of
his Angels; and let him be made and declared a
stranger from the Catholike Church, which he
hath prophaned by his periurie, & an aliant from
the company of all Christian people; together
with all the complices of his impietie: because it*

The difference betweene the ancient Councils, and the Pope counselling of the Catholikes.

*Council. Toleran.
4 can 47.
Ann. 633.*

behooueth all those that bee guiltie of the like offence, to ~~under-lye~~ the like punishment. Which sentence is three seuerall times together, and almost in the same wordes, repeated in the same Canon. After this, the Synode desired, That this Sentence of theirs now this third time rehearsed, might be confirmed by the voyce and consent of all that were present. Then the whole Clergie and people answered, Whosoever shal carry himselfe presumptuously against this your definitiue sentence, let them be Anathema maranatha, that is, let them be utterly destroyed at the Lords comming, and let them and their complices haue their portion with Iudas Iscarioth. Amen.

a Concil. Tol-
tan. 5. Can. 7.
anno. 636.

And in the fift^a Councell, there it is decreed, That this Act touching the Oath of Allegiance, shall bee repeated in euery Councell of the Bishops of Spaine. The Decree is in these wordes: In consideration that the mindes of men are easily inclined to euill and forgetfulnesse, therefore this most holy Synode hath ordeined; and doeth enact, That in euery Councell of the Bishops of Spaine, the Decree of the generall^b Councell which was made for the sefetic of our Princes, shall be with
an

b Synod. Tol-
tan. 4. uniuersa-
lis, & magna
Synodus dicta,
Syn. Tol. 5. ca. 2.

the Oath of Allegiance.

55

an audible voyce proclaimed & pronounced, after the conclusion of all other things in the Synode : that so it being often sounded in their eares, at least by continuall remembrance, the mindes of wicked men being terrified might bee reformed, which by obliuion & facilitie [to euill] are brought to preuaricate.

And in the sixt^a Councell, *We doe protest before God, and all the orders of Angels, in the presence of the Prophets and Apostles, and all the company of Martyrs, and before all the Catholike Church, and assemblies of the Christians; That no man shall goe about to seeke the destruction of the King: No man shall touch the life of the Prince; No man shall depriue him of the Kingdome; No man by any tyrannicall presumption shall vsurpe to himselfe the soueraigntie of the Kingdome; No man by any Machination shall in his aduersitie associate to himselfe any packe of conspirators against him; And that if any of vs shalbe presumptuous by rashnesse in any of these cases, let him be stricke with the anatheme of God, and reputed as condemned in eternall iudgement without any hope of recovery.*

And in the tenth^b Councell (to omit diuers

*a Concil. Tol.
let. 6. Can. 18
Anno 638.*

*b Concil. Tolos.
10 Can. 2.
A Era. 694.*

uers others held also at Toledo) it is said; That if any religious man, euen from the Bishop to the lowest Order of the Church-men or Monkes, shall be found to haue violated the generall Oathes made for the preservation of the Kings person, or of the nation and Countrey with a profane minde; forthwith let him be deprived of all dignitie, and excluded from all place and honour. The occasion of the Decrees made for this Oath, was, That the Christians were suspected for want of fidelitie to their Kings; and did either equiuocate in taking their Oath, or make no conscience to keepe it, when they had giuen it: as may appeare by fundry speeches in the^a Councell, saying, *There is a generall report, that there is that perfidiousnes in the mindes of many poeple of diuerse Nations, that they make no conscience to keepe the Oath and fidelitie that they haue sworne vnto their Kings: but doe dissemble a profession of fidelitie in their mouthes, when they hold an impious perfidiousnes in their minds. And^b againe, They sweare to their Kings, and yet doe they preuariate in the fidelitie which they haue promised: Neither do they feare the vtolme of Gods indgement,*

a Concil. Tolosan. 4. cap. 74.

b Concil. Tolosan. 4. cap. 74.

ment, by the which the curse of God is brought upon them, with great threatning of punishments, which doe sweare lyingly in the Name of God. To the like effect I pake they in the Councel of^a *Aquisgran*: If any of the Bishops, or other Church-man of inferiour degree, hereafter thorow feare or couetousnes, or any other perswasion, shall make defection from our Lord the Orthodoxe Emperour Lodowicke, or shall violate the Oath of fidelitie made vnto him, or shall with their peruerse intention adhere to his enemies; let him by this Canonickall and Synodall sentence be deprived of whatsoever place hee is possessed of.

*a Concil. A.
quisgran sub
Ludou. Pio, &
Greg. 4. Can.
12. anno 836.*

And now to come to a particular answere of his letter. First as concerning the sweete memory hee hath of his old acquaintance with the Arch-priest; it may indeed be pleasing for him to recount: but sure I am, his acquaintance with him and the rest of his societie, our Fugitiues (whereof he also vantteth himselfe in his preface to the Reader in his booke of Controuersies) hath prooued sowre to vs and our State. For some of such Priests and Iesuits, as were the greatest Trai-

H

tours

Campion and
Hart. See the
conference in
the Tower.

tours and fomenters of the greatest conspiracies against the late Queen, gaue vp father *Robert Bellarmine* for one of their greatest authorities and oracles. And therefore I doe not enuie the great honor he can win, by his vaunt of his inward familiaritie with an other Princes traitours and fugitiues : whom vnto if he teach no better maners then hitherto he hath done, I thinke his fellowship are little beholding vnto him.

And for desiring him to remember him in his prayers at the altar of the Lord : if the Arch-priests prayers prooue no more profitable to his soule, then *Bellarmines* counsel is like to proueprofitable, both to the soule and body of *Blackwel* (if he would follow it) the author of this letter might very wel be without his prayers.

Now the first messenger that I can finde, which brought ioyfull newes of the Arch-priest to *Bellarmino*, was he that brought the newes of the Arch-priests taking, and first appearance of Martyrdome. A great signefurely of the Cardinals mortification, that he was so reioyced to heare of the apprehen-
sion,

sion, imprisonment and appearance of putting to death of so old and deare a friend of his. But yet apparantly he should first haue bene sure, that he was onely to be punished for cause of Religion, before hee had so triumphed vpon the expectation of his Martyrdome. For first, by what rule of charitie was it lawfull for him to iudge me a persecutour, before prooffe had bene made of it by the said Arch-priestes condemnation and death? What could hee know, that the said Arch-priest was not taken vpon suspicion of his guiltinesse in the Powder-Treason? What certaine information had he then receiued vpon the particulars, whereupon hee was to be accused? And last of all, by what inspiration could he foretell whereupon hee was to bee accused? For at that time there was yet nothing layed to his charge. And if charitie should not be suspicious, what warrant had he absolutely to condemne mee of vsing persecution and tyrannie, which could not be but emplied vpon me; if *Blackwel* was to be a Martyr? but surely it may iustly be said of *Bellarmino* in this case, that our Sauour

The Cardinals charitie.

1 Mat. 5. 43.

CHRIST saith of all worldly and carnall men, who thinke it enough to loue their
 2 friends and hate their enemies; the limits
 of the Cardinals charitie extending no farther,
 then to them of his owne profession.
 For what euer he added in superfluous char-
 itie to *Blackwel*, in reioycing in the specula-
 tion of his future Martyrdome; he detracted
 as much vniustly and vncharitably from me,
 in accounting of me thereby as of a bloody
 Persecutour. And whereas this ioy of his
 was interrupted by the next messenger, that
 brought the newes of the said Arch-priest
 his failing in his constancie, by taking of this
 Oath; he needed neuer to haue bene trou-
 bled, either with his former ioy or his second
 sorrow, both being alike falsly grounded.
 For as it was neuer my intention to lay any
 thing vnto the said Arch-priests charge, as I
 haue neuer done to any for cause of consci-
 ence; so was *Blackwels* constancie neuer
 brangled by taking of this Oath; It being a
 thing which he euer thought lawfull before
 his apprehension, and whereunto hee per-
 swaded all Catholikes to giue obedience;
 lik

like as after his apprehension, he neuer made doubt or stop in it ; but at the first offering it vnto him, did freely take it, as a thing most lawfull ; neither meanes of threatning or flatterie being euer vsed vnto him , as himselfe can yet beare witnesse.

And as for the temperature and modification of this Oath ; except that a reasonable and lawfull matter is there set downe in reasonable & temperate words, agreeing thereunto : I know not what he can meane , by quarelling it for that fault. For no temperatenes nor modifications in words therein , can iustly be called the Devils craft , when the thing it selfe is so plaine, and so plainly interpreted to all them that take it ; as the only troublesome thing in it all, bee the words vsed in the end thereof, for eschewing *equivocation* and *mentall reservation*. Which new Catholique doctrine, may farre iustlier be called the Devils craft, then any plaine and temperate words , in so plaine and cleare a matter. But what shal we say of these strange countrey clownes, whom of with the *Satyre* we may iustly complaine , that they blowv

a Matth. 11. 17

both hote and cold out of one mouth? For *Luther* and our bolde and free speaking Writers are mightily railed vpon by them, as hot brained tellovves, and speakers by the Devils instinct: and now if vve speake moderately and temperately of them, it must bee tearmed the Devils craft. And therefore we may iustly complaine vvith CHRIST, that when we^a mourne, they wil not lament: and when vve pipe, they vvill not dance. But neither *Iohn Baptist* his seueritie, nor CHRIST his meekenesse and lenitie can please them, vvho build but to their owne Monarchie vpon the ground of their ovvn Traditions; and not to CHRIST vpon the ground of his Word and infallible trueth.

But vvhat can bee meant by alleadging, that the craft of the Deuill herein, is onely vsed for subuersion of the Catholique faith, and euerfion of *S. Peters* Primacie; had need bee commented anevv by *Bellarmino* himselfe. For in all this Letter of his, neuer one vvord is vsed, to proue that by any part of this Oath the primacy of *S. Peter* is any vvay medled vvith, except Master *Bellarmino* his
bare

bare alledging; which without prouing it by more cleare demonstration, can neuer satisfie the conscience of any reasonable man. For (for ought that I know) heauen and earth are no farther asunder, then the professon of a temporall obedience to a temporall King, is different from any thing belonging to the Catholique faith, or Supremacie of *S. Peter*. For as for the Catholique faith; can there bee one word found in all that Oath, tending or sounding to matter of Religion? Doeth he that taketh it, promise there to beleue, or not to beleue any article of Religion? Or doeth he so much as name a true or a false Church there? And as for *S. Peters* Primacie; I know no Apostles name that is therein named, except the name of *IAMES*, it being my Christen name: though it please him not to deigne to name me in all the Letter, albeit, the contents thereof concerne me in the highest degree. Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either *disertis verbis*, or by any other indirect meanes, either of the Hierarchie of the Church, of *S. Peters* succession, of the Sea Apostolike, or of any

No decision
of any point
of Religion
in the Oath of
Allegiance.

any such matter: but that the Author of our Letter doeth brauely make mention of *S. Peters* succeſſion, bringing it in compariſon with the ſucceſſion of *Henry* the eight. Of which vnapt and vnmanerly ſimilitude, I wonder hee ſhould not bee much aſhamed. For as to King *Henries* ſucceſſour (which he meaneth by mee) as I, I ſay, neuer did, nor will preſume to create any article of fayth, or to bee Iudge thereof; but to ſubmit my exemplary obedience vnto them, in as great humilitie as the meanest of the land: ſo if the Pope could bee as well able to proue his either Perſon all or Doctrinall Succeſſion from *S. Peter*, as I am able to proue my lineall deſcent from the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; there had neuer been ſo long adoe, nor ſo much ſturre kept about this queſtion in Chriſtendome; neither had ^a *M. Bellarmine* himſelfe needed to haue beſtowed ſo many ſheetes of paper *De ſummo Pontifice*, in his great bookes of Controuerſies: and when all is done, to conclude with a morall certitude, and a *piè credendum*: bringing in the ^b Popes, that are parties in this cauſe, to bee his

^a Bellar. de
Rom. Pont. lib.

4. cap. 6.

¹ Ibid. lib. 2. ca 12

^b Idem. Ibidem
lib. 2. cap. 14.

his witnesses : and yet their historicall narration must be no article of faith. And I am without vantrie sure, that I doe farre more neerely imitate the worthy actions of my Predecessors, then the Popes in our age can be well proued to be *similes Petro*, especially in cursing of Kings, and setting free their Subiects from their Allegiance vnto them.

But now we come to his strongest argument; which is, That he would alledge vpon me a Panick terrour, as if I were possessed with a needlesse feare. *For*, saith the Cardinall, *from the beginning of the Churches first infancie, euen to this day, where was it euer heard, that euer a Pope either commanded to be killed, or allowed the slaughter of any Prince whatsoeuer, whether he were an Hereticke, an Ethnike or Persecutor?* But first, wherefore doth he here wilfully, and of purpose omit the rest of the points mentioned in that Oath, for deposing, degrading, stirring vp of arms or rebelling against them, vvhich are as vvell mentioned in the Oath, as the killing of them? as being all of one consequence against a King, no Subiect being so scrupulous

The Cardinals weightiest Argument.

*a Bellar. de
Rom. Pont. lib.
5. cap. 8. & lib.
3. cap. 16.*

lous, as that hee will attempt the one, and leaue the other vnperformed if he can. And yet surely I cannot blame him for passing it ouer, since he could not otherwise haue eschewed the direct belying of himselfe in tearmes, which hee now doeth but in substance and effect. For^a as for the *Popes* deposing and degrading of Kings, hee maketh so braue vaunts and bragges of it in his former bookes, as he could neuer with ciuil honesty haue denied it here.

*b Gotfrid. Vi-
terb. Helmod.
Cuspinian.
c Palcal. 2.*

But to returne to the *Popes* allowing of killing of Kings, I know not with what face hee can sent so stout a deniall vpon it against his owne knowledge. How many Emperors did the *Pope* raise warre against in their owne bowels? Who as they were overcome in battaile, were subiect to haue bene killed therein; which I hope the *Pope* could not but haue allowed, when hee was so farre enraged at^b *Henry* the fift for giuing buriall to his fathers dead corps, after the^c *Pope* had stirred him vp to rebell against his father, and procured his ruine. But leauing these old Histories to *Bellarmines* owne bookes that

that doe most authentically cite them, as I haue already said, let vs turne our eyes vpon our owne time, and therein remember what a Panegyrik^a oration was made by the *Pope*, in praise and approbation of the Frier and his fact, that murdered king *Henry* the third of *France* who was so farre from either being Heretike, Ethnike or Persecutor in their account, that the said *Popes* owne wordes in that oration are, *That a true Frier hath killed a counterfeit Frier.* And besides that vehement oration and congratulation for that fact; how neere it scaped, that the said Frier was not canonized for that glorious acte, is better knowne to *Bellarmino* and his followers, then to vs here.

But sure I am, if some Cardinals had not beene more wise and circumspect in that errand, then the *Pope* himselfe was, the *Popes* owne Kalender of his Saints would haue sufficiently proued *Bellarmino* a liar in this case. And to draw yet nerer vnto our selues; how many practises and attempts were made against the late *Queenes* life, which were directly enioyned to those Traitors by their

a See the Oration of Sixtus Quintus, made in the Consistory vpon the death of Henry the 3.

Contessors, and plainly authorized by the *Popes* allowance? For verification whereof there needes no more prooffe, then that neuer *Pope* either then or since, called any Church-man in question for meddling in those treasonable conspiracies; yay, the Cardinals owne *S. Sanderus* mentioned in his letter could well verifie this trueth, if he were aliue; and who will looke his bookes, will find them filled with no other doctrine then this. And what difference there is betweene the killing or allowing the slaughter of Kings, and the stirring vp and approbation of practises to kil them; I remit to *Bellarmines* owne iudgement. It may then very clearly appeare, how strangely this Authours passion hath made him forget himselfe, by implicating himselfe in so strong a contradiction against his owne knowledge and conscience, against the witnesse of his former bookes, and against the practise of our owne times. But who can wonder at this contradiction of himselfe in this point, when his owne great Volumes are so filled with contradictions? which when either he, or any other

ther shall euer be able to reconcile, I wil then beleue that he may easily reconcile this impudent strong deniall of his in his letter, of any Popes meddling against Kings, with his owne former bookes, as I haue already said.

And that I may not seeme to imitate him in affirming boldly that which I no wayes proue; I will therefore send the Reader to looke for witnesses of his contradictions, in such places heere mentioned in his owne booke. In his booke, of ^a Iustification, there he affirmeth, *That for the vncertaintie of our owne proper righteousness, and for auoiding of vaine glory, it is most sure and safe, to repose our whole confidence in the alone mercie and goodnes of God;* ^b Which proposition of his, is directly contrary to the discourse, and current of all his five bookes *de Iustificatione*, wherein the same is contained.

God doeth not encline a man to euill, neither ^c naturally or morally.

Presently after he affirmeth the contrary, *That God doeth not encline to euill naturally, but* ^d *morally.*

All the Fathers teach constantly, *That*

a Bellar. de Iustif. lib. 5. cap. 7.

b Contrary to all his five bookes de Iustificatione.

c Bellar. de amiss. gra. & stat. pecca. lib. 2. cap. 13.

d Ibi Item paulo post.

^a Bellar. de cle-
icis. lib. 1. cap.
14.

^a Bellar. de
Pont. lib. 4. cap.
15.

^a Bellar. de
Pont. lib. 1. cap.
12.

^a Bellar. de
iustif. lib. 3. cap.
14.

^a Bellar. de gra-
tia. lib. arbit. lib.
5. cap. 5.

^a Eodem lib.
cap. 9.

^a Bell. de Pont.
lib. 4. cap. 3.

^a Bell. de iustif.
lib. 3. cap. 14.

^a Bell. de Rom.
Pontif. lib. 3.
cap. 14.

^e Bishops do succede the Apostles, and Priestes the seuentie disciples.

Elsevwhere he affirmeth the contrary, That ^f Bishops do not properly succeed the Apostles.

That ^g Judas did not beleene

Contrary, That ^h Judas was iust and certainly good.

The keeping of the ⁱ Law according to the substance of the worke, doeth require that the Commandement be so kept, that sinne be not committed, and the man bee not guiltie for hauing not kept the Commandement.

Contrary, ^k It is to bee known, that it is not all one, to doe a good morall worke, and to keepe the Commandement according to the substance of the worke. For the Commandement may be kept according to the substance of the worke, euen with sinne; as if one should restore to his friend the thing committed to him of trust, to the end that theeeues might afterward take it from him.

^l Peter did not loose that faith, whereby the heart beleeueth vnto iustification.

Contrary, ^m Peters sinne was deadly.

ⁿ Antichrist shall bee a Magician, and after the

*the maner of other Magicians shall secretly wor-
ship the Deuill.*

° Contrary, *He shall not admit of idolatrie :
he shall hate idoles, and reedifie the Temple.*

*By the words of P Consecration the true and
solemne oblation is made.*

Contrary, *The sacrifice doeth not consist in
the words : but in the oblation of the thing it
selfe.*

† That the ende of the world cannot bee
known.

‡ Contrary, *After the death of Antichrist,
there shall bee but five and fourtie daies till the
ende of the world.*

‡ That the tenne Kings shall burne the scar-
let Whoore, that is Rome.

“ Contrary, *Antichrist shall hate Rome,
and fight against it, and burne it.*

× The name of vniuersall Bishop may be vn-
derstood two wayes; one way, that hee which is
said to be vniuersal Bishop, may be thought to be
the onely Bishop of all Christian cities; so that all
others are not indeed Bishops, but only Vicars to
him, who is called vniuersal Bishop: in which
sense, the Pope is not vniuersal Bishop.

Contrary,

1 *Ibid. ex sen-
tent. Hypol. &
yrit. & cap.
2. eiusdem
libri.
2 Bellar. lib. 1.
de missa. cap. 27*

7 *Bellar. de
miss. lib. 2. cap.
2.*

8 *Bellar. de
unim. Christ.
lib. 4. cap. 5.*

9 *Bellar. de
Pont. lib. 3. cap.
17.*

10 *Bellar. de
Pont. lib. 3. cap.
3.
11 Bellar. ibid.*

12 *Bellar. de
Pont. lib. 2. cap.
31.*

y Bellar. de Pon-
tif. lib. 2. cap. 24.

Contrary, *All ordinary^y iurisdiction of Bishops doeth descend immediatly from the Pope; and is in him, and from him is deriued to others.* Which few places I haue onely selected amongst many the like, that the discret and iudicious Reader may discern *ex vngue Leonem*. For when euer hee is pressed with a weightie obiection, he neuer careth, nor remembreth how his solution and answer to that, may make him gaine say his owne doctrine in some other places, so it serue him for a shift to put off the present storme withall.

But now to returne to our matter againe: *Since Popes, saith hee, haue neuer at any time medled against Kings, wherefore, I pray you, should onely the King of England bee afraid of that, whereof neuer Christian King is, or was afraid?* Was neuer Chistian Emperour or King afraid of the *Popes*? How then were these miserable Emperours tost and turmoiled, and in the end vtterly ruined by the *Popes*: for prooffe whereof I haue already cited *Bellarmines* owne bookes? Was not the ^a Emperour afraid, who ^b waited barefooted

^a Henry 4.
^b Abbas
Vespergen.
Lamb. Scaffin.
Anno 1077.
Plas. in vit.
Greg. 7.

footed in the frost and snow three daues at
the Popes gate, before hee could get entrie?
Was not the ^c Emperour also afraide,^d who
was driuen to lie agroose on his belly, and
suffer another *Pope* to tread vpon his necke?
And was not another ^e Emperour afraide,
who was constrained in like manner to in-
dure a third *Pope* to beat off from his head
the Imperiall Crowne with his foote? Was
not ^f *Philip* afraid, being made Emperour a-
gainst *Pope Innocentius* the thirds good li-
king, when he brake out into these wordes,
*Either the Pope shal take the Crowne from Phi-
lip, or Philip shal take the Miter from the Pope?*
Whereupon the *Pope* stirred vp *Otto* against
him, who caused him to be slaine; and pre-
sently went to *Rome*, and was crowned Em-
perour by the *Pope*, though afterward the
Pope^h deposed him too. Was not the Em-
perour ⁱ *Fredericke* afraide, when *Innocentius*
the fourth excommunicated him, deprived
him of his crowne, absolved Princes of their
Oath of fidelitie to him, and in *Apulia* cor-
rupted one to giue him poison? whereof the
Emperour recouering, hee hired his bastard

c Frederick
Babarossa.
d Naucler, ge-
ner 40. Iacob.
Bergom. in Sup-
plem chron. Al-
fons. Ciaccon. in
vic. Alex. 3.
e Henry. 6.
f R. H. nuden
in Rich. 1.
Ranulph in
Polychronico.
lib. 7.
g Abbas Vesper.
ad Ann. 1191.
Naucler. gen. 40.
Cuspin. in Phi-
lippe.

h Abbas Vesper.
i Math Paris
in Henr. 3.
Petrus de Vi-
neu Epist. lib. 1.
c. 2. & Cuspin.
in Freder. 2.

h Vita Frederici Germanici conscripta.
1 Frederick Barbarossa.

m Paul Tominus Histor. lib. 2.
Cuspinian, in Baiazet. 11.
Guicciard. lib. 2.

n Howden pag. 308.
Matth. Paris, in Henric. 11.
Walsingham in Hypodig. Neustrie Ioan. Capgrave.

o Gomezius de rebus gest. Fran. Ximenij Archiepisc. Tolos lib. 5.

Sonne *Manfredus* to poyson him; wherof he died. What did *Alexander* the third write to the *Soldan*? That if he would liue quietly, he should by some sleight murder the *Emperour*; and to that ende sent him the *Emperours* picture. And did not *Alexander* the sixt take of the Turke *Baiazetes* two hundred thousand crownes to kill his brother *Gemen*; or as some call him, *Sifimus*, whom hee held captiue at *Rome*? Did hee not accept of the conditions to poyson the man, and had his pay? Was not our *Henry* the second afraide after the slaughter of *Thomas Becket*; that besides his going bare-footed in Pilgrimage, was whipped vp and downe the Chapter-house like a schoole-boy, and glad to escape so too? Had not this French King his great Grandfather King *John* reason to bee afraid, when the *Pope* gaue away his kingdome of *Nauarre* to the King of *Spaine*, whereof he yet possesseth the best halfe? Had not this King, his Successour reason to be afraid, when he was forced to begge so submissiue the relaxation of his Excommunication, as hee was content

tent

tent like **Wife** to suffer his Ambassadour to be whipped at **Rome** for penance? And had not the late **Queene** reason to looke to herselfe, when she was excommunicated by **Pius Quintus**, her Subiects loosed from their fidelity and allegiance toward her, her Kingdome of **Ireland** giuen to the King of **Spaine**, and that famous fugitiue diuine, honoured with the like degree of a red hat as **Bellarmino** is, was not ashamed to publish in print an^a Apologie for **Stanlies** Treason, maintaining, that by reason of her excommunication and herefie, it was not onely lawfull for any of her Subiects, but euen they were bound in conscience to depriue her of any strength, which lay in their power to doe? And whether it were armies, townes, or fortresses of hers which they had in their hands they were obliged to put them in the King of **Spaine** her enemies hands, shee no more being the right owner of any thing? But albeit it be true, that wise men are mooued by the examples of others dangers to vse prouidence and caution, according to the olde prouerbe, *Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximi*

a Card. Allens Answer to Stan. lxx. Anno. 1587.

mus ardet: yet was I much neerlie dummi oned to vse this caution, by the practise of it in mine owne person.

First, by the sending forth of these Bulles, whereof I made mention already, for debarring me from entrie vnto this Crowne, and Kingdome. And next after my entry, and full possession thereof, by the horrible *Powder-Treason*, which should haue bereft both me and mine, both of crowne and life. And howsoeuer the *Pope* wil seeme to cleare himselfe of any allowance of the sayd *Powder-Treason*; yet can it not be denyed, that his principall ministers here, and his chiete *Mancipia* the Iesuites, were the plaine practisers thereof: for which the principall of them hath died confessing it, and other haue fled the Countrey for the crime; yea, some of them gone into *Italy*: and yet neither these that fled out of this countrey for it, nor yet *Baldwine*, who though he then remained in the Lowe-countreyes, was of counsell in it, were euer called to account for it by the *Pope*: much lesse punished for medling in so scandalous and enormous businesse. And

now what needs to great wonder and exclamation, that *the onely King of England feareth*: And *what other Christian King doth, or euer did feare, but he?* As it by the force of his rhetoricke he could make me and my good Subjects to mistrust our senses, denie the Summe to shine at midday, and not with the serpent to stop our eares to his charming, but to the plaine and visible veritie it telie. And yet for all this wonder, hee can neuer proue me to be troubled with such a Panick terrour. Haue I euer importuned the *Pope* with any request for my securitie? Or haue I either troubled other Christian Princes my friends & allies, to intreat for me at the *Popes* hand? Or yet haue I begged from them any aide or assistance for my farther securitie? No. All this wondred-at feare of mine, stretcheth no further, then wisely to make distinction betweene the sheepe and goats in my owne pasture. For since, what euer the *Popes* part hath bene in the *Powder-treason*; yet certaine it is, that all these caitife monsters did to their death maintaine, that onely zeale of Religion moued them to that

horrible attempt : yea, some of them at their death, would not craue pardon at G o d or King for their offence : exhorting other of their followers to the like constancie. Had not wee then, and our Parliament great reason, by this Oath to set a marke of distinction betweene good Subiects and bad ? Yea, between Papists, though peradventure zealous in their Religion, yet otherwise ciuilly honest and good subiects, and such terrible firebrands of hell, as would maintaine the like maximes, which these powder-men did ? Nay, could there bee a more gracious part in a King, suppose I say it, toward subiects of a contrary Religion, then by making them to take this Oath, to publish their honest fidelitie in temporall things to mee their Soueraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great slander which was laid vpon the whole professors of that Religion, by the furious enterprise of these Powder-men ?

And wheras for illustration of this strong argument of his, hee hath brought in for a similitude the hystorie of ^a *Julian the Apostata* his dealing with the Christians, when as
he

a Maximianus in Julian, insectinā primā.

he straited them, either to commit idolatrie, or to come within the compasse of treason : I would wish the authour to remember, that although a similitude may bee permitted *claudicare uno pede* ; yet this was a very ill chosen similitude, which is lame both of feet and hands, and euery member of the body. For I shall in few words prooue, that it agreeth in no one point, saue one, with our purpose, which is, that *Iulian* was an Emperour, and I a King. First, *Iulian* was an *Apostata*, one that had renounced the whole Christian faith, which hee had once professed, and became an Ethnike againe, or rather an Atheist : whereas I am a Christian, who neuer changed that Religion, that I dranke in with my milke : nor euer, I thanke God, was ashamed of my profession. *Iulian* dealt against Christians onely for the profession of Christes cause : I deale in this cause with my Subiects, onely to make a distinction betweene true Subiects, and false hearted traitours. *Iulians* end was the overthrow of the Christians : my onely end is, to maintaine Christianitie in a peaceable gouernement.

The disproportion of the Cardinals similitude.

uernement. *Iulians* drift was to make them commit idolatrie: my purpose is to make my Subiects to make open profession of their naturall Allegiance, and ciuill obedience. *Iulians* meanes whereby, hee went about it, was by craft, and insnaring them before they were aware: my course in this is plaine, cleare, and void of all obscuritie: neuer refusing leaue to any that are required to take this Oath, to studie it at leisure, and giuing them all the iinterpretation of it they can craue. But the greatest dissimilitude of all, is in this: that *Iulian* pressed them to commit idolatrie to idoles and images: but as well I, as all the Subiects of my profession are so farre from guilt in this point, as wee are counted heretiques by you, because we will not commit idolatrie. So as, in the maine point of all, is the greatest contrarietie. For, *Iulian* persecuted the Christians because they would not commit idolatrie; and yee count me a persecutour, because I will not admit idolatrie. So as to conclude this point, this olde sentence may well be applied to *Bellarmino*, in vsing so vnapt a similitude,

Perdere

Perdere quos vult Iupiter, hos dementat.

And therefore his vncharitable conclusion doeth not rightly follow : *That it seemeth vnto him, that some such thing should be subtilly or fraudulently included in this Oath*; as if no man can detest treason against the King, or professe ciuill subiection, except hee renounce the Primacie of the Apostolike Sea. But how hee hath suckt this apprehension out at his fingers ends, I cannot imagine: for sure I am, as I haue oft said, hee neuer goeth about to proue it: and to answere an improbable imagination, is to fight against a vanishing shadow. It cannot bee denied indeed, that many seruants of CHRIST, as wel Priests, as others, haue endured constantly all sorts of torments, and death, for the profession of CHRIST: and therefore to all such his examples, as he bringeth in for verifying the same, I neede not to giue him any other answere, saue onely to remember him, that he playeth the part of a sophister in all these his examples of the constancie of Martyrs: euer taking *Controuersum pro confesso*, as if this our case were of the same nature.

L

But

But yet that the Reader may the better discover, not onely how vnaptly his similitudes are applied, but likewise how dishonestly hee vseth himselfe in all his citations: I haue thought good to set downe the very places themselues cited by him, together with a short deduction of the true state of those particular cases: whereby, how little these examples can touch our case; nay, by the contrary, how rightly their true sense may bee vsed, as our owne weapons to be throwen backe vpon him that alleadgeth them, shall easily appeare. And first, for ^a *Eleazar*: If the Arch-priest his ground of refusing the Oath, were as good as *Eleazars* was, to forbear to eate the swines flesh, it might not vnfitly be applied by the Cardinall to his purpose. For as *Eleazar* was a principall Scribe, so is he a principall Priest: As *Eleazars* example had a great force in it, to animate the yonger Scribes to keepe the Law, or in his colourable eating it, to haue taught them to dissemble: so hath the Arch-priests, either to make the inferiour Priests to take the Oath, or to refuse it: but the ground failing,

a 2. *Maccha-*
bees cap. 6. vers.
18.

An answer to
the Cardinalls
example of
Eleazar.

falling, the building cannot stand. For what example is there in all the Scripture, in which disobedience to the Oath of the King, or want of allegiance is allowed? If the Cardinal would remember, that when the Church maketh a law (suppose to forbid flesh on certaine dayes) hee that refuseth to obey it, incurrcth the iust censure of the Church: If a man then ought to die rather then to break the least of Gods Ceremoniall Lawes, and to pine and starue his bodie, rather then to violate the Church his positieue Law: will he not giue leaue to a man to redeeme his soule from sinne, and to keepe his body from punishment, by keeping a Kings politique law, and by giuing good example in his person, raise vp a good opinion in me of like Allegiance in the inferiours of his Order? This application, as I take it, would haue better fitted this example.

But let me remember the Cardinall of another Oath inioyned by a King to his people, whereby hee indaungered his owne life, and hazarded the safety of the whole army, when hee made the people sweare in the

a 1. Sam. 14.
15.

morning not to taste of any meate vntill night: which Oath he exacted so strictly, that his eldest sonne, and heire apparant *Io. nathan* for breaking of it, by tatting a little hony of the top of his rod, though he heard not when the King gaue that Oath, had wel nigh died for it. And shall an Oath giuen vpon so vrgent an occasion as this was, for the apparant safety of me and my posterity, forbidding my people to drinke so deeply in the bitter cup of Antichristian fornications, but that they may keepe so much hony in their hearts, as may argue them still espoused to me their Soueraigne in the maine knot of true allegiance; shall this law, I say, by him be condemned to hell for *a stratagem of Satan*? I say no more, but G O D s lot in the Oath of *Sauls*, and *Bellarmines* verdict vpon this Oath of ours, seeme not to be cast out of one lap.

*a Theodorit.
lib. 4 cap. 19.*

An answer
to the Card.
example of
S. Basil

Now to his example of a *Basil*, which is (as hee sayeth) so fit for his purpose. First, I must obserue, that if the Cardinall would leaue a common and ordinary tricke of his in all his Citations, which is, to take what makes

makes for him, and leaue out what makes against him; and cite the Authours sense, as well as his Sentence, wee should not bee so much troubled with answering the ancients which he alleadgeth. To instance it in this very place: if he had continued his allegation one line further, hee should haue found this place out of *Theodore*t, of more force to haue moued *Blackwel* to take the Oath, then to haue dissuaded him from it. For in the very next words it followeth, *Imperatoris quidem amicitiam magni se pendere, cum pietate; quâ remotâ, perniciosam esse dicere.* But that it may appeare, whether of vs haue greatest right to this place, I will in few wordes shew the Authours drift.

The Emperour *Valens* being an Arrian, at the perswasion of his wife, when hee had depriued all the Churches of their Pastours, came to *Cæsarea*, where ^a *S. Basill* was then Bishop, who, as the History reporteth, was accounted the *Light of the world*. Before he came, he sent his ^b deputy to worke it, that *S. Basill* should hold fellowship with *Eudoxius* (which ^c *Eudoxius* was Bishop of *Constantinople*,

^a *Theodoria*, lib. 4. cap. 19.

^b *Modestus* as *Nazianzen* vpon the death of *Basil* calleth him in his oration.

^c Looke cap. 12. *iusdem* lib.

tinople, and the principall of the Arrian faction) or if he would not, that he should put him to banishment. Now when the *Emperours* Deputie came to *Cesarea*, hee sent for *Basil*, intreated him honourably, spake pleasingly vnto him, desired he would giue way to the time, neither that hee would hazard the good of so many Churches *tenui exquisitione dogmatis*: promised him the *Emperours* fauour, and himselfe to be mediatour for his good. But *S^r Basill* answered, *These intising speeches were fit to be vsed to children, that vse to gape after such things: but for them that were thoroughly instructed in Gods word, they could neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted. Nay, if need required, they would for the maintenance thereof, refuse no kinde of death. Indeed the loue of the Emperour ought to be greatly esteemed with pietie; but pietie taken away, it was pernicious.*

This is the truth of the history. Now compare the case of *Basill* with the Arch-priests: *Basill* was solicited to become an Arrian: the Arch-priest not once touched for any article of faith. *Basill* would haue obeyed the

the Emperour, but that the word of G O D
forbade him: this man is willed to obey, be-
cause the word of G O D commandeth him.
Basill highly esteemed the Emperours fa-
uour, if it might haue stood with pietie: the
Archpriest is exhorted to reiect it, though it
stand with true godlinesse in deed, to em-
brace it. But that hee may lay load vpon the
Arch-priest, it is not sufficient to exhort him
to courage and constancie by *Eleazars* and
Basils examples; but hee must be vtterly cast
downe with the comparing his fall to *S. Pe-
ters*, and *Marcellinus*: which two mens cases
were the most feareful, considering their per-
sons and places, that are to be found, or read
of either in all the books of diuine Scripture,
or the volumes of Ecclesiasticall histories;
the one denying the onely true God, the o-
ther our Lord & Satiour I E S V S C H R I S T:
the one sacrificing to idols, with the profane
heathen: the other forswearing his Lord and
Master, with the hard-hearted Iewes. Vn-
lesse the Cardinall would driue the Arch-
priest to some horror of conscience, and
pit of despaire, I know not what hee can
meane

The Cardinall
simulating of
the Arch pr.
case to S. Pe-
ters, and *Mar-
cellinus*, consi-
dered.

meane by this comparifon. For fure I am, all that are not intoxicated with their cup, cannot but woonder to heare of an Oath of Allegiance to a naturall Soueraigne, to bee likened to an *Apoftats* denying of God, and forfwearing of his Sauour.

But to let paffe the *Disdiapafon* of the cafes (as his ill-fauoured coupling *S. Peter* the head of their Church, with an apoftate Pope) I maruaile he would remember this example of ^a *Marcellinus*, fince his brother Cardinall *Baronius*, and the late edition of the Councils by ^b *Binnius* feeme to call the credite of the whole hiftory into queftion, faying, *That it might plainly be refuted, and that it is probably to be fhewed, that the ftory is but obreptitious*, but that he would not fwarue from the common receiued opinion.

And if a man might haue leaue to coniecture; fo would his Cardinallhip too, if it were not for one or two fentences in that Council of *Sinueffa*, which ferued for his purpofe: namely that, *Prima fedes à nemine iudicatur*: And, *Iudica caufam tuam: noftrâ fententiâ non condemnaberis*. But to what purpofe

a Looke *Platina in vita Marcellini*,
b *Council, Tom. 1, pag. 222*.
Looke *Baronius, Ann. 302. num. 96*.

See *Tom. 1. Council, in Aft. Council, Sinueffa*.
fan.

purpose a great Councel (as he termes it) of three hundred Bishops and others, should meete together, who before they met, knew they could doe nothing; when they were there, did nothing, but like Cuckowes, sing ouer and ouer the same song: that *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*: and so after three dayes sitting (a long time indeed for a great and graue Councell) brake so bluntly vp: and yet, that there should be seuentie two witnesss brought against him, and that they should subscribe his excommunication, and that at his owne mouth he tooke the *Anathema maranatha*: how these vntoward contradictions shal be made to agree, I must send the Cardinall to *Venice*, to *Padre Paulo*, who in his ^a Apologie against the Cardinals oppositions, hath handled them very learnedly.

But from one Pope, let vs passe to another: (for, what a principall article of faith and religion this Oath is, I haue already sufficiently proued.) Why he called S. ^b *Gregory* our Apostle, I know not, vnlesse perhaps it be, for that he sent ^c *Augustine* the Monke,

M

and

^a *Apol. Pat. Pauli aduersus opposit. Card. Bellar.*

An answer to the place alledged out of S. *Gregory*.

^b *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*

^c *Beda Ecclesi. Hist. gen. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 25.*

d Bada Ecclesi-
ast. Hist. gen.
Ang. lib. 1. cap. 4

and others with him into *England*, to cōuert vs to the faith of Christ, wherein I wish the *Popes* his successours would follow his patterne. For albeit he sent them by diuine reuelation (as he said) into *England* vnto King *Ethelbert*; yet when they came, they exercised no part of their function, but by the Kings leaue and permission. So did King *d Lucius* send to *Eleutherius* his predecessor, and hee sent him diuers Bishops, who were all placed by the Kings authoritie. These conuerted men to the faith, and taught them to obey the King. And if the *Popes* in these dayes would but insift in these steps of their forefathers, then would they not intertaine Princes fugitiues abroad, nor send them home, not onely without my leaue, but directly against the lawes, with plots of treason and doctrine of rebellion, to drawe Subiects from their obedience to mee their naturall King: nor be so cruell to their owne *Mancipia*, as returning them with these wares, put either a State in iealousie of them; or them in hazard of their owne liues. Now to our Apostle (since the Cardinall will haue him

him to called) I perswade my selfe I should doe a good seruice to the Church in this my labour, if I could but reape this one fruit of it, to moue the Cardinal to deale faithfully with the Fathers, and neuer to alledge their opinions against their owne purpose. For, this letter of *Gregorius* was written to Iohn Bishop of *aPalermo* in *Sicily*, to whom he granted *vs sum pally*, to be worne in such times, & in such order as the Priests in the Ile of *Sicily*, and his predeceffours were wont to vse: and withall giueth him a caueat: *that the reuerence to the Apostolike Sea, be not disturbed by the presumption of any: for then the state of the members doth remaine sound, when the head of the Faith is not bruised by any iniury, and the authoritie of the Canons alwayes remaine safe and sound.*

*a Greg. lib. II.
cap. 42.*

Now let vs examine the words. The epistle was written to a Bishop, especially to grant him the vse of the Pall; a ceremony and matter indifferent. As it appeareth, the Bishop of *Rome* tooke it well at his hands, that hee would not presume to take it vpon him without leaue from the Apostolique Sea, giuing him that admonition which foloweth in the

words alledged out of him : which doctrine we are so far frō impugning, that we altogether approue & allow of the same, that whatsoever ceremonie for order is thought meet by the Christian Magistrat, and the Church, the same ought inuiolably to bee kept : and where the head & gouernour in matters of that nature are not obeyed, the members of that Church must needs run to hellish confusion. But that *Gregory* by that terme, *caput fidei*, held himselfe the head of our faith, and the head of all Religion, cannot stand with the course of his doctrine and writings. For first, whē an ^a other would haue had this stile to be called *Vniuersalis Episcopus*, hee sayd, ^b *I doe confidently auouch, that whosoever calleth himselfe, or desireth to be called Vniuersall Bishop, in this aduancing of himselfe, is the forerunner of the Antichrist.* Which notwithstanding was a stile far inferiour to that of *Caput fidei*. And when it was offered to himselfe, the wordes of *S. Gregorie* be these, refusing that title : ^c *None of my predecessors* [Bishops of Rome,] *euere consented to use this prophane name* [of vniuersall Bishop.] *None of my*

^a Iohn of
Constantinople.
See *Greg. lib. 4.*
Epist. 32.
^b *Lib. 6. Epist.*
30.

^c *Greg. lib. 4.*
Epist. 32. & 36.

my predeceſſors euer tooke vpon him this name of ſingularity, neither conſented to uſe it, We the Biſhops of Rome, do not ſeek, nor yet accept this glorious title, being offered vnto vs. And now, I pray you, would he that refuſed to be called vniuerſall Biſhop, be ſtiled *Caput fidei*, vnles it were in that ſenſe, as I haue expreſſed: which ſenſe if he will not admit, giue mee leaue to ſay that of *Gregorie*, which himſelfe ſaith of ^a *Lyra*, *Minus cautè locutus eſt*: or which hee elſewhere ſaith of *Chryſoſtome*, ^b *Locutus eſt per exceſſum*. To redeeme therefore our Apoſtle out of his hands, & to let him remain ours, & not his in this caſe, it is very true that he ſaith in that ſenſe he ſpake it. Whē ye go about to diſturbe, diminifh, or take away the authoritie or Supremacie of the Church, which reſteth on the head of the King, within his dominions, ye cut off the head & chiefe gouernor therof, & diſturb the ſtate & members of the whole body. And for a concluſiō of this point, I pray him to think, that we are ſo well perſwaded of the good minde of our Apoſtle *S. Gregory* to vs, that we deſire no other thing to bee ſuggeſted to the Pope and his

^a Bellar. de
Rom. Pont. lib.
2. cap. 10.
^b Idem. lib. 2. de
Miſſis cap. 10.

^a *Greg. lib. 7.
Epist. 1.*

Cardinals, then our Apostle S. Gregory desired ^a *Sabinian* to suggest vnto the Emperour and the State in his time. His words be these: *One thing there is, of which I would haue you shortly to suggest to your most noble Lord and Master: That if I his seruant would haue had my hand in slaying of the Lombards, at this day the nation of the Lombards had neither had king, nor dukes, nor earles, and had bin diuided asunder in vtter confusion: but because I feare God, I dread to haue my hand in the blood of any man.*

An answer to
the authoritie
out of *Leo*.

^b *Leo trimus in
die assump.
sue ad Pontif.
sermone 3. Leo
Epist. 89. ad
Episc. Vien.
Idem ibid. cap. 2*

^c *Cicero in Hor.*

And thus hauing answered to S. Gregory, I come to another Pope, his Apostle, S. *Leo*. And that hee may see, I haue not in the former citations, quarelled him like a Sophister for contentiō sake, but for finding out of the trueth, I do grant, that the authorities out of ^b *Leo*, are rightly alleadged all three, the wordes truely set downe, together with his true intent and purpose: but withall, let mee tell him, and I appeale vnto his owne conscience whether I speake not truely, that what *Tullie* said to ^c *Hortensius*, when hee did immoderately praise eloquence, that he would haue lift her vp to Heauen, that himselte might

might haue gone vp with her ; So his *S. Leo* lift vp *S. Peter* with praises to the sky, that he being his ^a heire, might haue gone vp with him. For his *S. Leo* was a great Orator, who by the power of his eloquence redeemed *Rome* from fire, when both ^b *Attilas* and *Genfericus* would haue burnt it.

Some fruits of this rhetorick he bestowed vpon *S. Peter*, saying, *The Lord^c did take Peter into the fellowship of the indiuisible vnitie*: which words being coupled to the sentence alleadged by the Cardinall (*That hee hath no part in the diuine Mysterie, that dare depart from the soliditie of Peter*) should haue giuen him, I thinke, such a scarre, as hee should neuer haue dared to haue taken any aduantage by the words immediatly preceding, for the benefit of the Church of *Rome*, and the head therof, since those which immediatly folow, are so much derogatory to the diuine Maiestie. And againe, *My^d writings be strengthened by the authoritie and merit of my Lord most blessed S. Peter. We^e beseech you to keepe the things decreed by vs through the inspiration of God, and the Apostle most blessed S. Peter. If*
^a any

^a For so he calleth himselfe in *serm.*
i in die assum.

^b *Ex Ireniario Romano.*

^c *Epist. 89.*

^d *Epist. 52.*

^e *Epist. 89.*

*a In ferm. 2.
in die anniver.
assum. sue.*

*b Ser. 3. in die
anni. assump.
sue.*

*c Epist. 24.
d Epist. 4.*

*e Concil. Ch: l.
ced. 47. 16. &
c. m. 28.*

a any thing be well done, or decreed by vs; If any thing be obtained of Gods mercy by daily praier, it is to be ascribed to S. Peters works and merits, whose power doth live, & authority excell in his owne Sea. He ^b was so plentifully watered of the very fountaine of all graces, that whereas he received many things alone, yet nothing passeth over to any other, but hee was partaker of it. And in a word, he was so desirous to extoll S. Peter, That a messenger from him was an ^c embassage from S. Peter: ^d any thing done in his presence, was in S. Peters presence. Neither did he vse all this Rhetoricke without purpose: for at that time the Patriarch of *Constantinople* contended with him for Primacie. And in the Councell of ^e *Chalcedon*, the Bishops sixe hundred and more, gaue equall authority to the Patriarch of that Sea, and would not admit any priuiledge to the Sea of *Rome* aboue him; but went against him. And yet he that gaue so much to *Peter*, tooke nothing from *Cesar*; but gaue him both his Titles and due, giuing the power of calling a Councell to the Emperour; as it may appeare by these one or two places following of many. If it
may

may please your ^agodlinesse to vouchsafe at our supplication to condescend, that you wil command a Councell of Bishops to bee holden within Italy. and writing vnto the Bishop of Constantinople. Because the most clement^b Emperor, carefull of the peace of the Church, will haue a Councell to be holden; albeit it euidently appeare, the matter to be handled doeth in no case stand in need of a Councell. And againe, Albeit my occasions wil not permit me to be present vpon the day of the Councell of Bishops, which your godlinesse hath appointed. So as by this it may well appeare, that he that gaue so much to Peter, gaue also to Caesar his due and prerogatiue. But yet he playeth not faire play in this, that euen in all these his wrong applied arguments and examples, he produceth no other witness, but the parties themselues; bringing euer the Popes sentences for approbation of their owne authoritie.

^a Epist. 9.
Theodosio.

^b Epist. 16.
Flauiano.

^c Epist. 17.
Theodosio.

Now indeed for one word of his in the midst of his examples, I cannot but greatly commend him; that is, that Martyrs ought to indure all sorts of tortures and death, before they suffer one syllable to be corrupted of the

a Bellar. de sa-
cra Eucharist.
lib 4. cap. 14.

Law of God. Which lesson, it hee and all the rest of his owne profession would apply to themselves, then would not the Sacrament be administred *sub vnâ specie*, directly contrary to Christes institution, the practise of the Apostles and of the whole Primitiue Church for many hundred yeeres : then would not the priuate Masses bee in place of the Lordes Supper : then would not the words of the^a Canon of the Masse be opposed to the words of S. Paul and S. Luke, as our Aduersary himselfe confesseth, and cannot reconcile them : nor then would not so many hundreths other traditions of men be set vp in their Church, not only as equall, but euen preferred to the word of God. But sure in this point I fear I haue mistaken him: for I thinke he doth not meane by his *Diuina Dogmata*, the word of the God of heauen, but onely the Canons and Lawes of his *Dominus Deus Papa* : otherwise all his Primacie of the Apostolike Sea would not be so much sticken vpon, hauing so slender ground in the word of God.

And for the great feare he hath, that the suddennes

suddenness of the apprehension, the bitterness of the persecution, the weaknesse of his age, and other such infirmities might haue bene the cause of the Arch-priests fall; in this, I haue already sufficiently answered him, hauing declared, as the trueth is, and as the said *Blackwel* himselfe wil yet testifie, that he took this Oath freely of himselfe, without any inducement therunto, either *Precebus* or *Minis*.

Some of Sanders his worthy sayings remembred.

But amongst all his citations, he must not forget holy *Sanderus* and his *Visibilis Monarchia*, whose person and actions I did already a little touch. And surely who will with vnpartiall eyes read his bookes, they may well thinke, that he hath deserued wel of his English Roman-Chnrch; but they can neuer thinke, but that he deserued very ill of his English Soueraigne and State. Witnesse his owne books; whereout I haue made choice to set downe here these few sentences following, as flowers pickt out of so worthy a garland. ^a *Elisabeth Queene of England, doth exercise the Priestly act of teaching and preaching the Gospel in England, with no lesse authority then Christ himself, or Moses euer did.*

a Sand. de visib. monarch. lib. 6. cap. 4.

a Sand. de clau.
David. lib. 6.
cap. 1.

b Sand. de vi-
fib. Monar. lib.
2. cap. 4.

c Ibidem.

d Ibidem.

e Ibidem.

f Sand. de clau.
David. lib. 5.
cap. 2.

g Ibidem.

The supremacy of a woman in Church matters, is from no other, then from the Devil. And of all things in generall, thus he speaketh, The King that wil not inthrall himselfe to the Popes authority, he ought not to be tolerated; but his Subiects ought to giue all diligence, that another may be chosen in his place assoone as may be. A King that is an Heretike, ought to be remoued from the kingdome that he holdeth ouer Christians; and the Bishops ought to endeuour to set vp another, assoone as possibly they can. Wee doe constantly^d affirme, that all Christian Kings are so far vnder Bishops and Priestes in all matters appertaining to faith, that if they shall continue in a fault against Christian Religion after one or two admonitions, obstinately, for that cause they may and ought to be deposed by the Bishops from their temporal authority they hold ouer Christiāns. Bishops are set ouer temporall kingdomes, if those kingdomes do submit themselues to the faith of Christ. We doe iustly^f affirme, that all Secular power, whether Regall, or any other, is of Men. The Sanoyning which is powred vpon the head of the King by the Priest, doeth declare that he is inferiour to the Priest. It is altogether against

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against the will of^a CHRIST, that *Christian Kings should haue* *supremacie in the Church.*

*a Sand. doct.
David lib. 5.
cap. 4.*

And whereas for the crowne and conclusion of all his examples, he reckoneth his two English martyrs, *Moore* and *Roffensis*, who died for that one most weighty head of doctrine, as he alleadgeth, refusing the Oath of Supremacie; I must tel him, that he hath not bene well informed in some materiall points, which doe very neerly concerne his two said martyrs. For it is cleare and apparantly to be prooued by diuers Records, that they were both of them committed to the Tower about a yeere before either of them was called in question vpon their liues, for the *Popes* Supremacie; And that partly for their backwardnesse in the point of the establishment of the Kings succession, wherunto the whole Realme had subscribed, and partly for that one of them, to wit, *Fisher*, had had his hand in the matter of the holy^b mayd of *Kent*, he being for his concealement of that false prophets abuse, found guiltie of misprision of treason. And as these were the principall causes of their imprisonment (the King re-

The Cardinals paire of Martyrs weighed.

*b Called Elizabeth Barton.
See the Act of Parliament.*

sting secure of his Supremacie, as the Realme stood then affected, but especially troubled for setting the crowne vpon the issue of his second marriage) so was it easily to be conceived, that being thereupon discontented, their humors were thereby made apt to draw them by degrees, to further opposition against the King and his authoritie, as indeed it fell out. For in the time of their being in prison, the Kings lawfull authoritie in cases Ecclesiasticall being published and promulged, as wel by a generall decree of the Clergie in their Synode, as by an Act of Parliament made thereupon; they behaued themselves so peeuishly therein, as the old coales of the Kings anger being thereby raked vp of new, they were againe brought in question; as wel for this one most weighty head of doctrine of the *Pope* his supremacy, as for the matter of the Kings marriage and succession, as by the confession of one of themselves, euen *Thomas Moore*, is euident. For being condemned, he vsed these wordes at the barre before the Lords, *Non ignoro cur me morti adiudicaueritis; videlicet ob id, quod nunquam voluerim assenti*

*Hist. or. aliquot
Mar. num no-
stri seculi, Ann.
1550.*

asseniri in negotio matrimonij Regis. That is, I am not ignorant why you haue adiudged me to death: to wit, for that I would neuer consent in the busines of the new marriage of the King. By which his owne confelsion it is plaine, that this great martyr himselfe tooke the cause of his owne death, to be only for his being refractory to the King in this said matter of Marriage and succession, which is but a very fleshly cause of martyrdom, as I conceiue.

And as for *Roffensis* his fellow Martyr (who could haue bene content to haue taken the Oath of the Kings Supremacy, with a certaine modification, which *Moore* refused) as his imprisonment was neither onely, nor principally for the cause of Supremacy, so died he but a halting and a singular Martyr or witnes for that most waightie head of doctrine; the whole Church of *England* going at that time, in one current and streame as it were against him in that argument, diuerse of them being of farre greater reputation for learning and sound iudgement, then euer he was. So as in this point we may wel arme our selues with the Cardinals own reason, where hee

hee giueh amongst other notes of the true Church, *Vniuersalitie* for one, we hauing the generall and Catholike conclusion of the whole Church of *England*, on our side in this case, as appeareth by their booke set out by the whole Conuocation of *England*, called, *The institution of a Christian man*; the same matter being likewise very learnedly handled by diuers particular learned men of our Church, as by *Steuens Gardiner* in his booke *de vera obedientia*, with a preface of Bishop *Boners* adioyned to it, *De summo & absoluto Regis Imperio*, published by *M Bekinsaw*, *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ*, Bishop *Tonstals* Sermon, Bishop *Longlands* Sermon, the letter of *Tonstall* to Cardinall *Poole*, and diuers other both in English and Latine. And if the bitternesse of *Fishers* discontentment had not bene fed with his daily ambitious expectation of the Cardinals hat, which came so neere as *Calis* before hee lost his head to fill it with, I haue great reason to doubt, if he would haue constantly persevered in induring his martyrdome for that one most waightie head of doctrine.

And

And surely these two captaines and ring-leaders to martyrdome were but ill folowed by the rest of their countrymen: for I can neuer reade of any after them, being of any great account, and that not many, that euer sealed that weighty head of doctrine with their blood in *England*. So as the true causes of their first falling in trouble (wherof I haue already made mention) being rightly considered vpon the one part; and vpon the other the scant number of witnesses, that with their blood sealed it; (a point so greatly accounted of by our Cardinal) there can but final glory redound therby to our English nation, these onely two, *Enoch* and *Elias*, seruing for witnesses against our Antichristian doctrine.

And I am sure the Supremacie of Kings may, and will euer be better maintained by the word of God (which must euer bee the true rule to discern al weighty heads of doctrine by) to be the true and proper office of Christian Kings in their owne dominions, then he wil be euer able to maintaine his annihilating Kings, & their authorities, together with his base & vnreuerend speeches of
O them,

The Supremacy of Kings
sufficiently
warranted by
the Scriptures.

a 2.Chron.

19.4.

b 2.Sam.5.6.

c 1.Chron.

13.12.

d 2.Sam.6.16.

e 1.Chron.

28.6.

f 2.Chron.6.

g 2.King.22.

11.

h Nehe.9.38.

David.

Salomon.

* 2.King.18.4.

i 1.Kings 15.

12.

2.Kings 13.4.

k 2.Chron.

17.8.

l 1.Kings 2.

27.

m 2.Sam.7.14.

n Psa.82.6.

& Exod.22.8.

o 1.Sam.24.11

them wherewith both his former great Volumes, and his late Bookes against *Venice* are filled. In the old Testament, Kings were directly ^a Gouvernours ouer the Church within their Dominions; ^b purged their corruptions; reformed their abuses, brought the ^c Arke to her resting place, the King ^d dancing before it; ^e built the Temple; ^f dedicated the same, assisting in their owne persons to the sanctification thereof; ^g made the booke of the Law new-found, to be read to the people; ^h renewed the couenant betweene God and his people; ^{*} brused the brasen Serpent in pieces, which was set vp by the expresse comādemēt of God, and was a figure of Christ; destroyed ⁱ all Idols, and false gods; made ^k a publike reformation, by a Commission of Secular men and Priests mixed for that purpose; deposed ^l the hie Priest, and set vp another in his place: and generally, ordered euery thing belonging to the Church-gouernment, their Titles and Prerogatiues giuen them by God, agreeing to these their actions. They are called *the* ^m *Sonnes of the most High*, nay, *Gods* ⁿ *themselves*; *The* ^o *Lords anoynted*

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anoynted; Sitting ^p in Gods throne; His ^q seruants; The Angels ^r of God; According to his ^s hearts desire; The light ^t of Israel; The ^u nursing fathers of the Church, with innumerable such titles of honor, wherwith the old Testament is filled; wherof our aduersary can pretend no ignorance. And as to the new Testament, Euery soule is commaunded to be subiect vnto them, euen for ^x conscience sake. All men ^y must bee prayed for; but especially Kings, and those that are in Authority, that vnder them we may lead a godly, peaceable and an honest life.

The ^a Magistrate is the minister of God to doe vengeance on him that doth euill, & reward him that doeth well. Ye must obey all higher powers, but ^b especially Princes, and those that are supereminent. Giue euery man his due, feare ^c to whom feare belongeth, and honour to whome honour. Giue ^d vnto Cesar what is Cafars, and to God what is Gods. ^e *Regnum meum non est huius mundi.* ^f *Quis me constituit Iudicem super vos?* ^g *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, Vos autem non sic.* If these examples, sentences, titles, and prerogatiues, and innumerable other in the old and new Testament, do not warrant

p 2.Chro.9.8
q 2.Chron. 6.
15.
r 2.Sam.14.20
s 1.Sam.13.14
t 2.Sam.21.17
u 1Sa.49.23.

x Rom.13.5.
y 1.Tim.2.2.

a Rom.13.4

b 1.Pet.2.13.

c Rom. 13.7.

d Marth.22.
21.

e Iohn 18.36.
f Luke 12.14

g Luke 22.25.

*a Euseb. lib. 3.
de vita Con-
stantini.*

Christian Kings, within their owne dominions, to gouerne the Church, as well as the rest of their people, in being *Custodes vtriusq; Tabulae*, not by making new articles of faith, (which is the Popes office, as I saide before) but by cōmanding obedience to be giuen to the word of God, by reforming the religion according to his prescribed will, by asisting the spiritual power with the temporal sword, by reforming of corruptions, by procuring due obedience to the Church, by iudging and cutting off all friuolous questions and Schismes, as ^a *Constantine* did; and finally, by making *decorum* to bee obserued in euery thing, & establishting order to be obserued in al indifferent things for that purpose, which is the only intent of our Oath of Supremacy: If this Office of a King, I say, doe not agree with the power giuen him by Gods word, let any indifferent man voyd of passion, iudge. But how these honourable offices, styles, and prerogatiues giuen by God to Kings in the old & new Testament, as I haue now cited, can agree with the braue stiles and titles that *Bellarmino* giueth thē, I can hardly conceiue.

r. That

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1. That Kings are rather *slaves* then Lords.
2. That they are not only *subiects* to Popes,
to Bishops, to Priests, but even to Deacons.

3. That an Emperour must content him, else
to drinke, not onely after a Bishop, but after a
Bishops Chaplen.

4. That Kings haue not their authority nor
office immediatly from God, nor his Lawe, but
onely from the Law of Nations.

5. That Popes haue degraded many Empe
rours, but neuer Emperour degraded the Pope;
nay, euen * Bishops, that are but the Popes vas
sals, may depose Kings, and abrogate their lawes.

6. That Church-men are so farre aboute
Kings, as the soule is aboute the body.

7. That Kings may be deposed by their peo
ple, for diuers respects.

8. But Popes can by no meanes bee deposed :
for no flesh hath power to iudge of them.

9. That obedience due to the Pope, is for con
science sake.

10. But the obedience due to Kings, is onely
for certaine respects of order and policie.

11. That these very Church-men that are
borne, and inhabite in Soueraigne Princes coun
treys.

1. De laich.
cap. 7.

2. De Pont.
lib. 1. cap. 7.

3. Ibidem.

4. Ibidem, &
de cler. cap. 28.

5. De P. nt. lib.
3. cap. 16.

* De Rom. Pont.
lib. 5. cap. 8.

6. De laich.
cap. 8.

7. De Pont. lib.
5. cap. 18.

8. De Pont. lib.
2. cap. 26.

9. De Pont. lib.
4 cap. 15.

10 De Clericis
cap. 28.

11. Ibidem.

treys, are notwithstanding not their Subiects, and cannot be iudged by them, although they may iudge them.

12. *Ibidem.*

12. And, that the obedience that Churchmen giue to Princes, euen in the meaneſt and meere temporall things, is not by way of any neceſſary ſubiectiō, but onely out of diſcretion, and for obſeruation of good order and cuſtome.

Theſe contrarieties betweene the booke of God, and *Bellarmines* books, haue I heere ſet in oppoſition ech to other; *Vt ex contrarijs iuxta ſe poſitis, veritas magis eluſcere poſſit.* And thus farre I dare boldly affirme, that whoſoeuer will indifferently weigh theſe irreconcilable contradictions here ſet downe, wil eaſily confeſſe, that CHRIST is no more contrary to Beliall, light to darkeneſſe, and heauen to hell, then *Bellarmines* eſtimation of Kings, is to Gods.

Now as to the concluſion of his letter, which is onely filled with ſtrong and pithy exhortations, to perſwade and confirme *Blackwell* to the patient and conſtant induring of Martyrdome, I haue nothing to anſwere, ſaue by way of reſpate; that ſo many
good

good sentences drawn out of the Scripture, so well and so handsomely packed vp together, should bee so ill and vntruely applied. But an euill cause is neuer the better for so good a cloake; and an ill matter neuer amended by good words: And therefore I may iustly turne ouer that craft of the deuill vpon himselfe, in vsing so holy-like an exhortation to so euill a purpose. Only I could haue wished him, that hee had a little better obserued his *decorum* herein, in not letting slip two or three prophane wordes amongst so many godly mortified Scripture sentences. For in all the Scripture, especially in the new Testament, I neuer read of *Pontifex Maximus*. And the Pope must be content in that stile to succeed according to the Lawe and institution of *Numa Pompilius*, and not to *S. Peter*, who neuer heard nor dreamed of such an office.

And for his *Caput fidei*, which I remembered before, the Apostles (I am sure) neuer gaue that stile to any, but to *CHRIST*. So as these stiles, wherof some were neuer found in Scripture, and some were neuer applied
but

but to CHRIST in that sense, as he applieth it, had bene better to haue bene left out of so holy and mortified a letter.

To conclude then this present discourse, I heartily wish all indifferent readers of the *Breues* and Letter, not to iudge by the speciousnes of the words, but by the weight of the matter; not looking to that which is strongly alledged, but iudiciously to consider what is iustly prooued; And for all my own good and naturall Subiects, that their hearts may remaine established in the trueth; that these forraine inticements may not seduce them from their natall and naturall duetie; and that all, aswell strangers, as naturall Subiects, to whose eyes this discourse shall come, may wisely and vnpartially iudge of the Veritie, as it is nakedly here set downe, for clearing these mists and cloudes of calumnies, which were iniustly heaped vpon mee; for which ende onely I heartily pray the courteous Reader to be perswaded, that I tooke occasion to publish this discourse.

